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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ATHARVA-VEDIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN OCCULT PRACTICES

By
DEBIKA BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta

Positive science refuses to accept anything, not openly verifiable by modern science; yet there are many things between heaven and earth, undreamt of in our philosophy. Such phenomena come within the indefinite extensible domain of occultism. Occult rites, in the ancient times, during the Vedic period, enjoyed mass popularity in India and the *Atharva-veda* is generally acknowledged to be the most ancient book of Indian Occultism.

Inspite of certain differences due to local variations, non-availability of all materials and pressure of territorial requirements, there is a general resemblance in the character of occult practices of the *Athrva-veda* and those prevalent in many countries of the Middle-East e.g. Assyria, Babylonia, Iran, Arabia and the West e.g. Armenia, Albania, Lithuania, Greece, Germany, Celtic & Balto-Slavic countries.

The occultism in the AV, may be stated to be of Indo-European character in certain aspects. This may be illustrated by drawing instances from the occult practices of different countries and regions.

The rain-making rituals which had almost a universal popularity offers the best example. In the AV, the hymns IV. 15 & VII. 19 are used as rain-charms to

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bring showers when severe drought persists. In these rites, reeds, weeds and grass which thrive in rains are dipped in a water bowl and water is sprinkled all over.[1]

In Greece, Southern Russia and Armenia also, we find similar ritual proceedings for bringing showers.

Thus, for example, in a village near Dorpat in Russia when rain was much wanted, three men used to climb up the firtrees of a sacred grove. One of them drummed with hammer on a kettle or small cask to imitate thunder, the second knocked two fire-brands together and made the sparks fly to imitate lightning and the third who was called the rain-maker, had a bunch of twigs with which he sprinkled from a vessel on all sides.

In New Britain, the rain-maker wraps some leaves of a red and green striped creeper in a banana leaf, * moistens the bundle with water and buries it in the ground ; then he imitates with his mouth, the splashing of rain.[2]

Among the Greeks of Thessaly and Macedonia, when a drought has lasted a long time, it is customary to send a procession of children round to all the wells and springs of the neighbourhood. As the procession walks, a girl is drenched by her companions with water at every halting place, while they sing an invocation of rains.[3]

Bathing is practised as a rain-charm in some parts of Southern and Western Russia.

An Armenian rain-charm is to throw the wife of a priest into the water and drench her. In Arcadia, when the corns and trees were parched with

---

1 *Pra nabhasva ityrceṇa vṛṣṭikāmo marudbhyo māntravarṇikibhyo vā devatābhyaḥ kṣīraudanahomaḥ ājyahomaḥ kāśādividhuvakabetasākhyā oṣadhīrekasmin pātre kṛtvā saṃpātyābhimantrya jalamadhye adhomukhaṃ ninayanam, tāsāmeva kāśādīnāṃ saṃpātitābhimantritānām apsu plāvanam śvaśiraso meṣa śiraṣaśca abhimantritasya apsu prakṣepaṇam.....ityetāni abhivarṣaṇakarmāṇi kuryāt.*

—*Sāyaṇabhāṣya* (AV. IV. 15)

Samutpatantu pra nabhasveti varṣakāmo dvādaśarātramanu śruṣyet. Sarvavrata upaśrāmyati. Maruto yajate yathā varunaṃ juhoti. Oṣadhīḥ saṃpatavatīḥ praveśyābhinyubjati. Viplāvayeta. Svaśiraedhaka-śiraḥkeśajaradupānaho vaṃśāgre pravadhya yodhayati.....apsu nidadhāti.

—*Kauś.* 41. 1-7

* In the District of Mymensingh (now in Bangladesh) a rain invocation rite, in which banana leaf was used, enjoyed great popularity. People gathered in one central place and wrote 'Ka' (the first letter of Bengali alphabet) on banana leaves with an indelible ink prepared from gourd-leaf juice. The letter 'Ka' was written in lacs. Then the writers carried the banana leaf-rolls on winnowing pans and moved from door to door. The women used to pour water over the banana-leaves which were afterwards thrown in ponds. (gathered from people of actual experience who participated in the rite.)

2 Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged), p. 63.

3 *ibid.*, p. 69.

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drought, the priest of Zeus dipped an oak branch into a certain spring on Mount Lycaeus.[4] Among the Celtic people, rain-making rites were also usually associated with a sacred well, where the people went in procession, probably with an image of a divinity, which was sprinkled with the water ; in some case, it was sufficient to beat the water with branches, sprinkle it on stones or throw it in the air.[5]

In all these cases as in AV, there is association with water and mimicry of rain-showers by sprinkling water from wetted twigs, a distinct characteristics of Sympathetic Occultism.

Secondly, in the AV it is found that fire occupies a prominent position for expulsion of evil spirits. The AV hymn '*tān satyaujāḥ pradahatvagnirvaiśvānaro vṛṣā* etc. (AV. IV. 36.1) and also AV. IV. 37 & VI. 32 invoke Agni to drive or to burn away the demons.[6]

The priests circumambulate the sacrificial fire and offer ' homa ' into it.

In the middle-East Asia and East European countries also, fire is seen to play an important role to expel evil spirits.

An effigy of the witch, held to be responsible for misfortunes is prepared and thrown into bon-fire, lit up for the purpose. When the effigy is being burnt, performers sing and dance e.g. in Babylonian rites for driving away demons, after recital of correct formulae, objects collected by the magician for the purpose were destroyed in fire in synchronization with the destruction of evil influence under which the patient suffered.

In many parts of Germany a fortnight before the " day of great fire ", children go about from farm to farm, collecting fuel. When the day comes they cut down bushes, especially jumper and broom, and in the evening great bonfires blaze on all the heights. It is a common saying that seven bonfires should be seen if the village is to be safe from conflagrations.

At Grand Halleux they set up a pole, called makral or the witch, in the midst of the pile, and the fire is kindled by the man who was last married. In the neighbourhood of Morlanwelz, a strawman is burnt in the fire. In Brabant, on the same day, women and men disguised in female attire used to go with burning torches to the fields, where they danced and sang comic songs for the purpose, as they alleged of driving away " the wicked sower " who is mentioned as the Gospel for the day.[7]

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4 Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged), p. 77

5 Maury L. F. A., " Croyances et legendes Du Moyen Age ", Paris, 1896, p. 14 (Quoted from *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, VIII, p. 297.)

6 *Bhūtagrahādyuccāṭanakarmasu viniyogaḥ.*
—*Sāyaṇabhāṣya.* (AV. IV. 36)
Cātanānāmapanodanena vyākhyātam.
—*Kauś.* 25.22

7 Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged), p. 610.

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In Switzerland also, it was customary to kindle bonfires. Boys went about from house to house begging for wood and straw, then piled the fuel on a conspicuous mountain round about a pole, which bore a straw effigy called the witch. At night fall, the pile was set on fire and the young folks danced wildly around it. This was called burning the witch.[8]

In Germany, at Voralberg, on the first Sunday, a slender young fir-tree is surrounded with a pile of straw and firewood. To the top of the tree is fastened a human figure called the Witch, made of old clothes and stuffed with gun-powder. At night, the whole is set on fire.

In Swabia, on the first Sunday, in Lent, a figure called the witch is made up of clothes and fastened to a pole. This is stuck in the middle of a pile of wood, to which fire is applied ; while the Witch is burning, the young people throw blazing discs into the air. The charred embers of the burned witch and discs are taken home and planted in the field in the belief that they will keep vermin from the fields.[9]

In the Greko-Roman Occult rites as also in the AV[10] many evil spirits are mentioned in female forms e.g. witches of various descriptions : Erinyes, Nemesis.[11] etc.

Among the Arabians and pastoral people of the white Nile animals are often used as scapegoats. In Arabia, at the time of Plague epidemic, the people lead a camel through all the quarters of the town in order that the animal may take the pestilence on itself.[12]

Among the people of white Nile a cow is used as scapegoat at the time of famine.

The animal is driven by the women to the river banks and across it. The cow is considered to be the symbol of the evil and its expulsion means driving the evil out.[13]

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8 *ibid.*, 613.

9 *ibid.*, 612-13.

10 *Nirṛti, Kṛtyā, Arāyi, Arāti, Jūrṇi, Caṇḍā, Sadanvas, Magundi.*

11 Erinyes is the avenging deity; also called Eumenides People dreaded to call these goddesses by their real names. It was said to have been first given them after the acquittal of Orestes by the Areopagus, when the anger of the Drinyes had been soothed. They are represented as winged maidens with serpents twined in their hair and with blood dripping from eyes. They punished men both in this world and after death.

Nemesis is the goddess who measured out to mortals misery and happiness both; subsequently she was regarded as the goddess who punished crimes.

Smith's *Smaller Classical Dictionary* pp. 208, 344.

12 Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged), p. 540.

13 *ibid.*, p. 565.

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In Greko-Roman and Slavic countries instances of human scape-goats are frequently found.[14]

In the AV also we find an instance of expulsion of evils by using animal scape-goats, where a *vaśā* (barren cow) is sacrificed to drive away misfortunes.[15] But in the AV, we do not find any instance of using human being as scapegoat, which proves that the *Atharva*-vedic people might have been more humane in consideration than those of Slavic and Greko-Roman countries.

Not only that the AV occult practices in many cases bear similarity with other I.E.* occult rites, but also there are numerous verses in the *Atharva-veda* which differ little from other I.E. occult incantations, in spirit and character.

The Merseburg magic incantations for curing the sprained leg,

Bone to bone,
Blood to blood,
Limb to limbs
As if they were glued[16]

is quite similar to the AV *mantra*s IV. 12.3.4 & 5 against the breaking of leg.[17]

There is, again, a remarkable agreement between AV and German occult incantation. About 99 diseases are mentioned in the AV, so in German incantation too.[18]

Moreover, as in the AV, in German spells also we find the conception that many diseases are caused by worms and there are a series of occult spells, which are intended to serve the purpose of driving away all kinds of worms.

In a spell against toothache :—

Pear-tree, I complain to thee
Three worms are pricking me.

---

14 *ibid.*,—" *Human Scape-goats in Classical Antiquity* ", pp. 577-583

15 AV. II. 14 ; *Kauś.* 44.1-11 (*yasya gṛhe gavādirvandhyā bhavati tadgṛhaṃ daivahataṃ bhavati, taddoṣanivṛttaye tayaiva vaśayā yāgaḥ kāryaḥ—Sāyaṇabhāṣya*).

* Indo-European.

16 Vide Winterniz, *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. 1, Part I, p. 112.

17 *Saṃ te majjā majjñā bhavatu samu te paruṣā paruḥ /*
Saṃ te māṃsasya visrastaṃ samasthyapi rohatu //
—AV. IV. 12.3

Majjā majjñā saṃ dhīyatāṃ carmaṇā carma rohatu /
Asṛk te asthi rohatu māṃsaṃ māṃsena rohatu //
—AV. IV. 12.4

Loma lomnā saṃkalpayā tvacā saṃkalpayā tvacam /
Asṛk te asthi rohatu cchinnaṃ saṃ dhehyoṣadhe //
—AV. IV. 12.5

Rohiṇyasi iti sūktena asthyādibhaṅganivṛttaye lākṣodakamabhimantrya... kṣatapradeśamavasiñcet.
—*Sāyaṇabhāṣya* (AV. IV. 12) ; *Kauś.* 28. 5, 6

18 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 115.

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The one is grey,
the other is blue,
the third is red,
I wish they were all three dead.

Worms of various colours are mentioned.[19] In the AV also we find similar mention.[20]

In an extract from a papyrus of late period, quoted by Bernard Bromage, we find an incantation [21] which is similar in spirit with a RV *mantra*. [22]

Another notable feature is that the AV rites to kill an enemy is strikingly similar to some I. E. rites, performed for the same purpose; e.g. in Babylonian countries, to kill a hostile person, his image was to be fashioned in human form and its destruction by fire, with the recital of correct formula, was believed to synchronize with the destruction of the hostile person whose figure had been imitated. These images could be made of wax, honey, bitumen etc.

Celtic method of killing a person is by throwing a spear into his shadow[23] or of making an image of him and sticking pins into it or placing it in running water so that he (the enemy) might suffer or waste away.[24]

AV rituals for destruction of enemy are also of same nature. e.g. in the performance of the *māraṇa* rite, to kill a man, an effigy of the enemy is made of earth and hit on the head[25] or his shadow[26], which signifies that the man will be likewise treated.

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19 *ibid.*, p. 116.

20 *Sarūpau dvau virūpau dvau kṛṣṇau dvau rohitau dvau /*
..... Ye krimayaḥ śitikakṣā ye kṛṣṇāḥ śitibāhavaḥ /
Ye ke ca viśvarūpāstān krimīn jambhayāmasi //
—AV. V. 23. 4-5

21 ' Establish a relation between yourself and god....bring here all the powers of the God. Master of the whole world God of fire, put thyself in connection with thy supplicant and magician, Listen to me. '
—Bernard Bromage, *The Occult Arts of Ancient Egypt*, p. 96

22 *Agniḥ....devā eha vakṣati //*
—RV. I. 1.2
Agniḥ....devo devebhirāgamat //
—RV. I. 1.5
Sa naḥ piteva sūnave'gne sūpāyano bhava /
—RV. I. 1.9

23 *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, edited by J. Hastings Vol. VIII. " Magic ", p. 258

24 *ibid.*, p. 258

25 *Gartedhmāvantareṇ-āvalekhanīṃ sthāṇau nivadhya*
dvādaśarātraṃ saṃpātanabhyatininayati. vajrān praharati..ācāmati
—*Kauś.* 49. 23-25.

26 *Chāyāṃ vā upaninayate.*
—*Kauś.* 47. 55-56

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Few other points of similarity of ideas and methods are also observed e.g. twins were believed to possess some occult powers in the AV. e.g. The hymn III. 28 prays to the mother of twins to bestow happiness, wealth and prosperity. In British Columbia twins were believed to possess magical power of bringing rains ; birth of twin signified plentiful rains. In South Africa a little time after the birth of twins, a ceremony is performed, the object of which is to transmit the reproductive virtue of the parents to the plantains.[27]

Close similarity in many respects between AV and Zoroastrian occult practices is also noteworthy.

As in AV hymns, we also find in *gāthās* of *Zend Avesta* (the religious book of the Zoroastrians) concept of demons as fierce, blood thristy evil spirits doing harmful activities and prayers to drive away them[28]. Not only this, the name of the demons in some cases are identical e.g. demons *rakṣa* and *yātu* appear both in AV and *Avesta*[29] but there is, in cases oppositeness of meaning in words, denoting demon e.g. in *Zend Avesta* Daeva means evil spirit or evil planet, whereas in AV it denotes benevolent gods. Again, in AV, the word *asura* is used in the sense of demon, while in *Avesta* it (Ahura) is the dominant deity of benevolence. Moreover, similar to numerous AV hymns, *Zend Avesta* also contains a number of *gāthās* praying to Ahura Mazda asking for all happy phases of life.[30] The relationship between Zoroastrian and *Atharva*-vedic occultism is also supported by mention of the word *Atharvan* in *Zend Avesta*.[31]

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27 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, pp. 66 & 197

28 Pronounce then that word O Zarathustra ! that word to be spoken, when thou fall upon the idolaters, the thieves and Daevas rushing together. Then the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daevas, of the *Yatus* and their followers, of the Pairikas and their followers, will be off righted and rush away. Down are the Daevas ! Down are the Daeva—worshippers and they take back their mouths from biting. (Translated by James Darmesteter, *S.B.E.* xxiii. p. 161 from *Zend Avesta*, XI, Srosh Yast Hadhokht, 6),
Vide also—*Zend Avesta*, Yasna, IX. 30, 31, 32 (*S.B.E.* xxxi, p. 239)
" " , Yasna, XII. 5 (*S.B.E.* xxxi, p. 249)
" " , Vendidad Fargard X. 1 (the recitation of this is followed by exorcism, written in the ordinary language of *Avesta*, expressly composed for the occasion—James Darmesteter, *S.B.E.* iv. p. 133).
—*Zend-Avesta*, Mihir Yast IX. 48 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. p. 131).

29 In *Atharva-veda*; *Rakṣas* (AV. II. 3.6), *Yātu* (AV. IV. 9.9.); In *Avesta* : Raksa (*Zend-Avesta*, Yasna XII. 5. *S.B.E.* xxxi. p. 249) Yatu (*Zend-Avesta*, XI. Srosh Yast Hadhôkht. 6, *S.B.E.* xxiii, p. 161).

30 *Zend-Avesta*, Yasna XXXIII-10, 12 (*S.B.E.* xxxi. pp. 77-78) *Zend-Avesta*, Yasna XVIII (*S.B.E.* xxxi. p. 259).

31 *Zend-Avesta*, Farvardin Yast xxx. 147; Dîn Yast vi. 17; Zamyad Yast viii. 53 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. pp. 228, 268, 299).

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AV Rites and Tibetan Occultism

In Tibet, the ancient land of mystery, a number of occult rites are practised which, as is well-known, attracted the attention from all over the World. Occultism has always been a way of Tibetan life. The learned Lamas, the Bon. Gomchen, Gyudpas, Ngagspa[32] are believed to be skillful occultist in demonology.

As in AV, majority of the Tibetans also believe in certain ritualistic methods of healing the sick, securing material prosperity and conquest of evil-beings. There are also certain striking similarities in the methodology. In Tibetan rituals, a great importance in given to the ritualistic cry 'Hik' followed by the should 'Phat'.[33] In the AV, particularly in the Tantras, recital of words '*Hrīṃ*' and '*Phaṭ*' is a common occurrence.[34]

The concept of *Mahākāla* and *Ḍākinī* (mkah hgroms, pronounced Kaṇḍomā) is also found in Tibetan mysticism[35] whose origin may be sought in the light of Atharvan.[36]

These similarities between Tibetan and AV rites indicate that however bizarre and isolated Tibet could have been, the cultural osmosis between two countries India and Tibet did take place.

Thus, we see that many of the AV *mantras* and AV rites have surprising similarities with those of the various people of various countries. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, among the Slavic people, among the Arabians, among the peasants of Mediaeval Europe and Russia, we find the same strange thoughts in their occult rites and practices as in the AV.

These similarities, seem to indicate that the *Atharva*-vedic and other Indo-European occult practices might have sprouted from a common source. At one time, the Aryans lived together. In course of time, they separated and migrated to India and other places. The branch of Aryans, who migrated to India from their original home, carried with them the Aryan culture, of which the occult practices were a part. After coming to India and spreading out, they assimilated the local non-Aryan culture including their occult practices. Osmosis of Aryan and non-Aryan occult practices therefore appears to be the genesis of the *Atharva*-vedic occultism.

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32 Alexandra David Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, pp. 37, 74, 12.
33 *ibid.*, p. 26
34 AV. IV. 18.3
35 Alexandra David Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, pp. 15, 50
36 AV. XIX. 53. 1-10 (*Kālasūkta*)
„ „ 54. 1-5 („)

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In the process of evolution and on account of regional differences, changes in the way of life took place; but instances of many similarities in various aspects—cultural, social and linguistics—remained. A common source of origin and inter-connection among the Aryan groups therefore appear to be a probable reason of similarities in occult practices of AV and other Indo-European countries.

Striking similarities also exist between AV and Tibetan Occult rites, though Tibetans are of non-Indo-European origin. This is *prima facie* due to cultural osmosis that invariably happens between any two neighbouring countries.

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PUNISHMENT OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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A few passages of the *Mahābhārata* are of special interest as showing how women were looked upon in ancient Indian society. These passages go thus :

I. *Aduṣṭā hi striyo ratnam=āpa ity=eva dharmataḥ* //[1] Three things do not become impure-women, gems and water.

II. *Na hantavyāḥ striya iti yad=bravīṣi plavaṅgama*/[2] -Women should not be slain.

III. *strī-ghṇair=go-ghṇaiḥ kṛtaghṇaiś=ca*
brahma-ghṇair=gurutalpagaiḥ /
tulya-doṣo bhavaty=ebhir=
yasy=ātithir=anarcitaḥ //[3]—Killing a woman is reckoned as sinful as killing a priest or a cow.

IV. *niḥsaṁśayo vadhaḥ puṁsāṁ strīṇāṁ saṁśayito vadhaḥ* /[4] In the verdict of law, a man may be exposed to *vadha*, but not a woman.

V. *strīṣu goṣu na śastrāṇi pātayed=Brāhmaṇeṣu ca*/[5]—Women, cows and Brāhmaṇas should not be killed by weapons.

Similar references may be multiplied without increasing our knowledge. But in ancient Indian literature, Brāhmaṇical as well as Buddhist, there are ample occasions on which death-sentence was discharged to women. They were burnt, drowned, stoned or killed by animals for various offences and their limbs were cut off till death.

According to the *Ṛgveda*[6] evil doers who walk in evil ways, like women who betray their husbands, shall be consumed by Agni. In the *Mahābhārata* there is a passage which runs as follows :

śreyāṁsaṁ śayane hitvā yā pāpīyāṁsamṛcchati /
śvabhis=tāṁ khādayed=rājā saṁsthāne bahusaṁvṛte //[7]

whichever woman abandons the nobler husband and seeks another inferior marriage couch, the king shall cause her to be torn to pieces by dogs in an open place. According to the *Manusmṛti*, if a wife, proud of the greatness of her relatives or (her own) excellence, violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the king shall cause her to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many.[8] Let the king cause the male offender to be burnt on a red-hot iron bed; logs should be put under it until the sinner is burned to death.[9] It is stated in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*[10] that a woman who kills her husband, father-in-law, sons or daughters or others by poison should have her ears, hands, nose, and lips cut

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off and then be killed by bulls. At another place[11] in the same *smṛti*, it is said that for cohabiting with father's sister, mother's sister, maternal aunt, son's wife, stepmothers, sisters, teacher's daughter or wife, the punishment is to cut off the male organ and thus cause death and if the women in such cases willingly participate, death-sentence is to be imposed also on them.

References to punishment by cutting off the limbs to death also occur in the Jātaka stories. In the *Yakka Jātaka*[12] we find that the wife deceived her husband and planned for his death. For this crime she was ordered to be cloven in two. Similarly in the *Culla-Paduma Jātaka*,[13] for having illicit connection with a stranger and for attempting the murder of her husband, a wife was sentenced to death, by cutting off her nose and ears and the paramour to death by beating with a club. But at last the king pardoned them and banished them from the country.

The revenging attitude of woman for her love being scorned resulting in the punishment to death by burning is also not unknown. Aśoka's second wife Tiṣyarakṣitā had fallen in love with Kuṇāla, Aśoka's eldest son by his first wife. Kuṇāla rejected her advances. At the time of Aśoka's illness Tiṣyarakṣitā obtained the favour of exercising regal power for seven days. She immediately made Kuṇāla blind. When the wickedness of the queen came to light, she was burnt to death.[14]

The ancient law approved punishment to death by drowning even in case of a woman. Thus Yājñavalkya says :

vipra-duṣṭāṁ striyañ=ca=iva puruṣaghṇīm=agarbhiṇīm ।
setu-bheda-karīñ=c=āpsu śilāṁ baddhvā praveśayet ॥[15]

The wicked woman who creates obstacle in conception by killing her own husband or destroys the embryo in the womb of herself or others is to be drowned to death. But at another place Yājñavalkya approves the punishment of divorce for similar crime.[16]

According to the *Agni-Purāṇa*[17] the woman, who betrays her husband, should be torn to pieces by dogs by the order of the king.

To metamorphose into stone is another sort of capital punishment imposed on criminal women. The single reference to this type of punishment is the story of Ahalyā. The unfortunate lady was turned into a stone by her husband Gautama for her illicit association with Indra. As the epic versions go, she was not aware of her fault. But the *Kathāsaritsāgara* version which is quite different from the epic versions, runs thus : Ahalyā in her folly encouraged Indra being the slave of her passion, but the hermit Gautama found out the intrigue by his super-human power and arrived upon the scene. And Indra immediately assumed, out of fear, the form of a cat. Then Gautama said to Ahalyā, " Who is here ? " She answered to her husband ambiguously in the Prākṛta dialect :

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"*majjao*"—a cat (but the term also means "my lover"). Then the sage inflicted a curse on her—'take for a long time the nature of a stone, until thou behold Rāma wandering in the forest.'[18] Thus we see that a woman had to under-go a punishment in the epic days for her fault though she was unaware of it, but to the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* it probably appeared to be unjust; still, possibly to justify her punishment, Ahalyā had been represented there as a woman of bad character. Ahalyā was punished in the epic age for a crime despite her unawareness of it, whereas giving such punishment to an apparently innocent woman like Ahalyā was perhaps considered unjust in the succeeding ages, e.g. the age of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, it seems, was of the view that punishment should be given to a woman only when convincing proof of her involvement in a crime could be established beyond doubt.

Apart from the capital punishment mentioned above woman had to receive several other types of punishment, e.g., fine, temporary separation from the husband, divorce, physical torture, skimming the head, banishment and confinement. Some of these are mentioned in the following passages of the *Manusmṛti*:

kany=aiva kanyāṁ yā kuryāt tasyāḥ syād=dvi-śato damaḥ /
śulkañ=ca dvi-guṇaṁ dadyāc=chiphāś=c=aiv=āpnuyād=daśa //[19]

A damsel who pollutes another damsel must be fined two hundred (Paṇas), pay the double of her (nuptial) fee and receive ten lashes with a rod.

yā tu kanyāṁ prakuryāt strī sā sadyo mauṇḍyam=arhati /
aṅgulyor=eva ca cchedaṁ khareṇ=odvahanaṁ tathā //[20]

But a woman who pollutes a damsel shall instantly have her head shaved or two fingures cut off, and be made to ride (through the town) on a donkey.

The wife has to pay a fine of 6 kṛṣṇalas to the royal treasury for visiting the *Prekṣāsamājaṁ* and taking *madyam* without any approval of her husband.[21] Yājñavalkya has approved a fine of 100 Paṇas for a woman who converses with a prohibited person.[22] But a male has to pay a fine of 200 Paṇas for a similar crime.[23] According to Manu, when the woman is unable to pay the fine, the king shall inflict punishment with a whip, a cane or a rope and the like.[24] A wife, who being superseded in anger departs from her husband's house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family.[25] The wife who disrespects her husband, who is addicted to some evil passion, is a drunkard or diseased, shall be deserted for three months and be deprived of her ornaments and furnitures.[26]

According to the *Parāśarasmṛti*, a woman having illicit association with a cāṇḍāla or lowcaste man has to undergo *Prāyaścittas* and *Vratas*.[27] But no other punishment is imposed on her. The *smṛti* further states that a woman, for

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having conceived through intercourse with the paramour, should be banished from the country.[28] Bṛhatyama agrees with Parāśara on this point. He is rather much more strict than the latter in this matter when he says that boiled ghee is to be thrown into the female organ of the woman who intercourses with anybody other than her husband.[29] Vasiṣṭha is quite liberal and says that if anybody enjoys her forcibly or with her full consent, she should not be divorced from her husband inspite of her being impure.[30]

The *Laghuyama Smṛti* is very precise on punishment of women. This work only says that if the wife disagrees to take care of the health of her husband, she has to pay a fine of 12 Paṇas and she will not be allowed to share the bed of her husband for one year.[31]

Now we might turn our attention towards the Buddhist sources to know how they deal with this subject. In the *Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka*,[32] the young wife of the aged chaplain of Brahmadatta, the king of Benaras, made a love-intrigue with the son of her waiting woman. She was involved in the attempt of killing her husband. When the chaplain came to know the trick of his wife, he drove her away from him with blows. We may recall in this connection the *Culla-Paduma Jātaka* in which the punishment discharged in a similar case was death by cutting off nose and ears. In the *Bandhanamokṣa Jātaka*[33] the queen of Brahmadatta, king of Benaras, sinned with the sixty-four messengers of the king. At last she requested the chaplain to satisfy her lust, but he refused. Then she made a false allegation to the king against the chaplain. When all the evil-doings came to light, the king ordered that all the messengers be beheaded. But similar sentence was not discharged against the queen. However, the queen and her paramours were pardoned by the king on the request of his honest chaplain. In the *Ubhaṭobhaṭṭaha Jātaka*[34] a fisherman's wife was tied up and beaten by order of the zamindar to make her pay the fine for making a false quarrel with the neighbours. As the *Ruhaka Jātaka*[35] goes, a wife gave evil advice to her husband and for this he was ridiculed. So the husband decided to chastise her and turn her out of doors. As seen in the *Gahapati Jātaka*[36] the wicked wife intrigued with the village headman and had illicit association with him. When her husband came to know it, he seized her by the hair, pulled her away, knocked her down and threatned her. The paramour, the village headman, was also punished in a similar manner. It is mentioned in the *Ucchiṭṭha Bhatta Jātaka*[37] that a wicked wife of a Brāhmaṇa of Benaras had love-intrigue with her paramour and served the first rice of the day not to the husband but to the paramour. The husband discovered it with the help of a begging boy and she was rebuked and beaten with her paramour.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva there are various references to the punishment of women. We may mention at first the story of Sundaraka and witches which runs as follows:[38]

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Kālarātri, wife of a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Viṣṇusvāmin, being love-sick secretly courted Sundaraka, a young disciple of Viṣṇusvāmin in his absence. Sundaraka refused. But for that he was tortured repeatedly. She tore her own body with bites and scratches and she remained weeping with dress and locks disordered. When her husband came back she told out of malice that Sundaraka reduced her to that state. And Sundaraka was kicked and beaten. After that Kālarātri repeatedly hunted him. At last she approached Sundarka in a market of Ujjain when she saw him there. He rejected the proposal and in consequence he had to face the trouble as before. But at last when the king heard of the wicked conduct of Kālarātri who also confessed it, he made up his mind to cut off her ears. However the king forbade her to live in his kingdom. This story reminds us of the story of *Bandhanamokṣa Jātaka* mentioned before and also of the story of Devasmitā of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*[39] In the story of Devasmita, we find that four merchants of a distant land made a trick to enjoy Devasmitā, the wife of a rich merchant in his absence with the help of a wicked female Buddhist ascetic. Devasmitā was intelligent enough to realise the trick and punished them accordingly. The four merchants suffered branding of a dog's foot of iron on their foreheads and other humiliating treatments and the ears and noses of the female ascetic and her disciple were cut off.

There is another story in the same work[40]—the story of Devadāsa, the unfortunate merchant of Pāṭaliputra, and his wife, the daughter of a rich merchant of Puṇḍravardhana, which reminds us of the *Culla-Paduma Jātaka* mentioned above. While the husband was fighting against heavy odds, the wife secretly shared the bed of her paramour. When the king knew her wickedness, he allowed Devadāsa for his part to cut off the nose of his wicked wife and marry another. And the king of the country then punished the adulterous person with the loss of all his property.

The story of Yaśodharā and Lakṣmīdhara and the two wives of the water-spirit[41] and the story of the wife who falsely accused her husband of murdering a Bhilla[42] may be mentioned in this connection. In the former, the second wife of the water-spirit was punished by cutting off her nose for adultery and in the latter the king ordered the ears and nose of the faithless wife to be cut off for her wickedness.

Apart from the story of Sundaraka and Kālarātri mentioned above, another story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is to be mentioned in connection with the punishment of banishment from the country. It is the story of Jīmūtavāhana.[43]

In this story we find a wicked woman who desired, by the help of her relations, to put her husband to death. She made false allegation against her husband before the king of Vatsya. When her wickedness came to light, the king banished her from his territory with her relations and sons as they were plotting against him who was well-known as a good husband.

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From the account given above of the punishment of women as mentioned in the Smṛtis, Jātakas and the ocean of stories of Somadeva, it will be found that-

(i) Almost all the methods of punishment discharged for wickedness of men would be implemented for the wickedness of women as well excepting however branding on forehead and embracing the bed of hot iron or statue of hot iron.

(ii) In spite of performing the same crime, women would get in most cases a punishment different from that received by men.

(iii) Though sometimes punished by the legal authorities, e.g., the king or the zamindar, in most cases the women had to undergo personal punishment as well, implemented by their guardians. In cases of personal punishment there was, no doubt, some sort of social approval.

References

1. *Śāntiparvan*, 165. 32. (The Cr. ed. is used if not mentioned otherwise).
2. *Droṇaparvan*, 143. 67.
3. *Anuśāsanaparvan*, Gita Press ed., 126. 28.
4. *Ādiparvan*, 158. 31.
5. *Sabhāparvan*, 38. 13.
6. IV. 5. 4-5.
7. *Śāntiparvan*, 159. 59.
8. VIII. 371.
9. VIII. 372—*Pumāṁsaṁ dāhayet pāpaṁ śayane tapta āyase* ।
10. II. 282—*Vikarṇa-kara-nās =auṣṭhīṁ kṛtvā gobhiḥ pramāpayet* ॥
11. III. 233—*Chittvā liṅgaṁ vadhas=tasya sakāmāyāḥ striyā api* ॥
12. *Jātaka Stories*, ed. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 155-58.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 81 ff. The story is again mentioned in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, tr. Tawney, Vol. V, p. 156. In this story of the ungrateful wife, the ministers cut off the nose and ears and branded and banished the wicked woman from the country.
14. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 500; also Tawney, *op, cit.*, Vol. II, p. 120 note.
15. II. 281.
16. I. 72....*tyāgo vidhīyate* । *garbha-bhartṛ-vadhādau ca tathā mahati pātake* ॥
17. 227. 42.
18. Tawney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 45-46.
19. VIII. 369.

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20. *Ibid.*, 370.
21. *Ibid.*, IX. 84.
22. II. 288.
23. *Loc. cit.*
24. IX. 230.
25. *Ibid.*, IX. 83.
26. *Ibid.*, IX. 78.
27. X. 18-22.
28. X. 30.
29. *Bṛhatyamasmṛti*, IV. 37—*ghṛtaṁ yonyāṁ kṣipet ghoraṁ para-puṁsagatā hi vā*
30. *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti*, XXVIII. 2-3.
31. Verse 18.
32. Cowell, *op cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 151-55.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 264 ff.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 298-99.
35. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80.
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 94-95.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 117-18.
38. Tawney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 110-11.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 158-62.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 86-88.
41. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 123.
42. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 82.
43. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 157-58.

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NĀGARĀJA ŚEṢADATTA

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While recounting the history of Vidiśā, the Purāṇas speak of one Nāgarāja Śeṣa and his son Bhogin and eulogise Bhogin as '*para-purañjayaḥ*' 'the conqueror of enemies', and *Nāga-kulodvahaḥ*', 'the exalter of the Nāga family'.[1] They then add the names of Sadācandra, Candrāmśa, whom they praise as a second *Nakhavant*, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara and Bhūtinanda among the kings of Vidiśā and say that they all ruled before the Śuṅgas and Śiśunandi, his younger brother Nandiyaśas or Yaśonandi and three kings, not named, after the Śuṅgas. But, Yaśonandi's daughter's son Śiśuka is said to have ruled from Purikā.[2] They also speak of Nava-Nāgas, whom they associate with Campāvatī[3] or Padmāvatī,[4] or with Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā[5] and of seven Nāga kings who ruled from Mathurā.[6] The Nava-Nāgas and the seven Nāgas are said to have ruled about the time the Guptas held sway over the territory about the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha.[7] They give no indication whatsoever of the relationship between Bhogin, Sadācandra, Candrāmśa, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara and Bhūtinanda or between Bhūtinanda and Śiśunandi, nor of the one between these kings, the Nāva-Nāgas and the seven Nāgas.

One Śeṣadatta is known from coins. He is one of the several kings with *datta* ending names also known from coins and, as would appear from the find-spots of these coins, associated with Mathurā.[8] Jayaswal is of the opinion that Śeṣadatta of the coins, whose name he amends without sufficient reason into Śeṣadāta, was a Nāga king. But, if at one place he identifies him with the Nāgarāja Śeṣa of the Purāṇas,[9] at another he distinguishes him from the latter and identifies him with Śivanandi[10] of the Padam Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription.[11] He modifies the Purāṇic texts and the names of several kings known from the Purāṇas and the coins in the most arbitrary fashion and along with some other kings known from inscriptions, whom he identifies as Nāga

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1 Pargiter : *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.

2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.*, p. 53

4 *Ibid.*, p. 53 fn. 2 5 *Ibid.*, fn. 2.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 53. 7 *Ibid.*

8 Allan : *BMC* pp. 174, 176-183, cx-cxi ; IMC. I, pp. 192-93 ; H. V. Trivedi : *Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati.*

9 *Andhakārayugin Bhārata*, being a Hindi translation of *the Imperial History of India*, 150-350 A.D., p. 24.

10 Jayaswal : *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27-28.

11 *Annual Report* : *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1915-16, pp. 105-06.

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princes, collects them into a long list of the Nāga kings, classifies them into different houses, enrobes them with a chronology and determines the dominions over which they are supposed to have ruled.[12]

Jayaswal, no doubt, reconstructs an imposing history for the Nāgas over a long period. But his arguments and interpretation of the evidence is often so fantastic that they do not inspire confidence as to the veracity of his conclusions. I do not go into the details of his conclusions, for I am mainly concerned here with the Nāgarāja Śeṣa of the Purāṇas, whether he is identical with king Śeṣadatta of the coins, and with his date and dominion, and would reserve an exhaustive treatment of the Nāga problem for another occasion, if I have one, because by itself the problem is one of enormous size and complex nature. There is no denying the fact, however, that the Nāgas did have a long and an imposing history, even if writers on Indian history in general do not seem to accord them that importance.

Of the coins of Śeṣadatta three come from the White King collection,[13] three from Sir Richard Burn,[14] one from the British Muesum[15] and of the two known from Hastināpura[16] only one[17] may be confidently attributed to him. Curiously, the Indian Museum is not reported to possess any information on them, if any, from the Mathura Museum is not available. Two coins of his were recently acquired by one of my students, Shri D. L. Rajput, from a dealer in metal wares in Gwalior, and they have been published by me in *the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.[18] These coins are of unusual interest for the history of Śeṣadatta and that of the Nāgas.

Of the two Gwalior coins one has the legend *Rājño Śeṣadata* [*sa*] in the Brāhmī characters, horizontally inscribed above the figure of Lakṣmī and the symbol ε, looking like the Brāhmī *śa*, on the obverse and a symbol formed of two Nāgas (serpents), facing each other with what looks like a post in between them and coiled up on a rectangular but hollow basement, a *pīṭhikā* perhaps, on the reverse. The second coin is different in metal, size and weight, and worn out. But the figure of Lakṣmī and the Śeṣadata part of the legend can be easily identified on the obverse. If there were any symbols on the obverse, they are all effaced. The reverse design on this coin is also the same as the one on the first coin, with the only difference, however, that the Nāgas on this coin are

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12 Jayaswal : *op. cit.*, pp. 15-87.

13 *JRAS*. 1900, p. 110, No. 9-11; Allan : *op. cit.*, p. cx.

14 Allan : *op. cit.*, p. cxi.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. cx & 174.

16 *Ancient India* No. 6, p. 103, C. Coins of Mathurā Kings, Nos. 1 & 3.

17 *Ibid.*, No. 7 (HST. I-682). See also my 'Two Coins of Śeṣadatta', *Journal of Numismatic Society*, XXXIV, pp. 189 ff.

18 *JNSI*. XXXIV, pp. 189 ff, pl. X. 3-4.

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depicted as coiled up on what looks like a straight line. There are some traces of what may and may not have been a symbol on the reverse. That the *Brāhmī śa* like symbol had also occured on the obverse of this coin, may be presumed [19]

The Brāhmī *śa* like symbol on the above two coins occurs on other coins of Śeṣadatta also.[20] It also occurs on the coins of Puruṣadatta,[21] Uttamadatta,[22] Rāmadatta I,[23] Kāmadatta,[24] Bhāvadatta [25] and Rāmadatta II,[26] associated with Mathurā,[27] but not on those of any other king associated with Mathurā or any other place. This important fact leads to the conclusion that king Śeṣadatta of the two coins from Gwalior is no other than king Śeṣadatta of the coins found around Mathurā and elsewhere and that he and the above named kings with *datta* ending names belonged to the same ruling house. The epigraphy of the Gwalior coins of Śeṣadatta is also similar to the epigraphy of the other coins of Śeṣadatta and those of the kings of Mathurā with *datta* ending names.

The reverse design of the Nāga symbol on the two Gwalior coins distinguished them not only from the other coins of Śeṣadatta which have the wheel on Daitya [28] as their reverse design, but also from those of him and of the other kings with *datta* ending names associated with Mathurā which have three, sometimes only one, elephants as their reverse design.[29]

The Nāga symbol has been invariably identified as the *Śrīvatsa* symbol.[30] I do not propose to discuss the origin of the *Śrīvatsa* symbol nor the significance of its appearance in different forms, in different times and in different regions, for any such discussion would be beside the the point at the moment.

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

20 Allan: *op. cit.*, p. cx.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77, pl. XXIV. 1-4; Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 192, pl. XXII. 10.

22 Allan: *op. cit.*, p. 177, pl. XXIV. 15-16.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

24 Allan: *op. cit.*, p. 182, pl. XXIV. 18; XXIX. 24.

25 *Ibid.*, p. cx; *JRAS.* 1900, p. 113, fig 13.

26 Even if Allan's arguments to suggest that there were two kings with the name Rāmadatta, may be based on slender evidence, two kings of the name do seem to be quite probable. That Viśākhadatta (?) of some coins (*JNSI.* XXX, pp. 179-81) from Padmāvatī (*ibid.*, XVII, p. 53, pl. XV. 1) and Vidiśā (*ibid.*, XXII, p. 134, pl. VI. 23) had anything to do with the *datta* kings of Mathurā is doubtful, for I find no trace of the *Brāhmī śa* like symbol on them. Their illustrations published in the Journal are very poor, but I had an opportunity to examine the Vidiśā coin and there was no such symbol on it. The epigraphy of the coins also seems later than the period of the Datta kings of Mathurā.

27 Allan : *op. cit.*, pp. cx-cxi; Smith : *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. cviii-cxi, 170-76.

29 *Ibid.*, p. cx; *JRAS.* 1900, p. 110, No. 11.

30. On the *Śrīvatsa* symbol I may refer to Sivaramamurti C. : " Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, " *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, 4, pp. 58-59, 83-85 ; *JUPHRS.* 1941, pp. 21 ff ; *Ancient India* No. 6, pp. 44-46.

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In almost an exactly similar form as the one on the two Gwalior coins, the Nāga symbol (or the *Śrīvatsa* symbol as it may be called) occurs on an image of Viṣṇu from Vidiśā[31] and on another image, of Viṣṇu again, in the Udayagiri Cave No. 6 near Vidiśā.[32] On an image of Narasiṃha, which also comes from Vidiśā,[33] one may locate this symbol, although it is now quite damaged and not distinct. The only difference between the form of this symbol on the Gwalior coin and the one on the above images that one may notice is that while on the Gwalior coins the two Nāgas coil upon what looks like a *pīṭhikā* or a simple straight line, on the images they have no such basement.[34] In a different form, obviously evolved from the above, the symbol occurs on another image of Viṣṇu, from Vidiśā again,[35] and on a railing from Barhut[36]

The symbol also occurs on some Punch Marked Coins from Vidiśā[37] and elsewhere,[38] and on some Yaudheya coins[39] and on those of the Kulūta king Vīrayaśas,[40] Viśākhadeva of Ayodhyā[41] and the Kuninda kings Amoghabhūti[42]

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31 This image is now in deposit in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. See also Thakur : *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior*, p. 4, No. 10, where it is identified as an image of Viṣṇu. Bhandarkar's view (*ARASI.* 1913-14, pt. ii, pp. 195-96) that it is an image of Garuḍa and that it had adorned one of the pillars as its capital which the Gupta king Chandragupta II set up at Vidiśā, is not borne out by the features of image itself. The image in one of its two left hands holds a *simha-mukha gadā* which Bhandarkar does not seem to have noticed. The art of the image also seems to be earlier than the time of Guptas. The image is that of Viṣṇu only and there is nothing in the image to suggest distantly even that it ever served as the capital of a pillar.

32 *Annual Report of the Gwalior Archaeological Survey* 1928-29, pl. III (b) ; *Ancient India*, pl. XVIII. D, p. 44, fig. 29, 1 (a). The date of the construction of the cave also requires to be reexamined in view of the fact that the panel with the inscription dated in G.E. 82, which refers to Chandragupta II, was counter sunk in the wall of the cave and has only a two line inscription when it appears to have been prepared to accommodate about eight lines. How is it that the inscription was not incised on the wall of the cave itself by author of the record if he were responsible for its construction ?

33 This image is also in deposit in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, see Thakur : *op. cit.*, p. 4, No. 14.

34 A similar symbol occurs on a brick from Padam Pawaya (Ancient Padmāvatī) in the Gwalior District of M.P. See *Annual Report of the Gwalior Archaeological Survey*, 1942-46, pl. VII, fig. on the right-hand side.

35 This image is also in deposit in the above noted Museum at Gwalior. See Thakur : *op. cit.*, p. 3, No. 2.

36 Barua : *Barhut* III, pl. XXVII.

37 *ASASI.* 1913-14, pt. ii, pl. LXVI. fig. 19. But, I have not been able to trace the coin or coins with this symbol from the inventory of coins from Vidiśā (*Ibid.* pp. 220-25), nor from the plates (*Ibid.*, pl. LXIV-LXV) which illustrate them.

38 Allan : *op. cit.*, p. 84. But there is neither the post nor the triangular dot between the two *Nāgas* on these coins.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74, 270.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 158, pl. VI. 4.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 131, pl. XVI. 14 & 15.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. cii, 159-67, pl. XXII. 1-16; pl. XXIII. 1, 4-10.

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and Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ[43] with the difference, however, that the basement, the *pīṭhikā* or the straight line, below the two Nāgas on the Gwalior coins is totally absent from the above coins and the post inbetween them is replaced on most of these coins by a dot, often a triangular one, and placed below the Nāgas ; the exceptions being some of the Yaudheya coins[44] those of the Kuṇinda Vīrayaśas. But while on all the above noted coins, the symbol occurs as one of the many symbols on the obverse or on the reverse, on the Gwalior coins of Śeṣadatta it occurs exclusively as the reverse design. This makes all the difference in the significance of its association with the Gwalior coins of king Śeṣadatta from its association with all the other coins. The significance of the association of the symbol with the coins of Śeṣadatta as their exclusively reverse design and with the two images from Vidiśā and the one at Udayagiri lies in the conclusion that issues, that it was characteristic of coins and images of the Vidiśā region, rather associated with that area. The origin of the two Gwalior coins may then be traced to Vidiśā, and if they are found at Gwalior, it is because they were in circulation in the Gwalior region also. If this line of reasoning is plausible, another conclusion that would issue from the above evidence is that the reverse design of one or three elephants on the coins of Śeṣadatta from Hastināpura and Mathurā and those of other kings with *mitra* and *datta* ending names from Mathurā and its vicinity was characteristic of coins issued in these regions. Therefore, the origin of coins of Śeṣadatta which have a wheel on chaitya as their reverse design may have to be traced to a place different from Vidiśā on Mathurā, and which it is not possible to identify since this design is not noticed on any other coins, Punch Marked or otherwise.

The issue of coins of Śeṣadatta from Vidiśā and Mathurā and their find from excavation at Hastināpura would suggest that he ruled over a vast territory, which extended from Hastināpura to Vidiśā and included Mathurā, Kāntipurī (Modern Kotwar in Morena district of M.P.)[45] and Padmāvatī (Modern Padam Pawaya in Gwalior district). Whether the find of coins of Puruṣadatta at Bhuila near Kapilavastu;[46] of Uttamadatta at Sunet, some four miles west of Ludhiana in the Punjab; of Rāmadatta at Indore Khera,[49] eight miles SSW. of Anupshahar in U.P. and at Chittor[50] in Rajasthan, would suggest that the dominions of the kings with *datta* ending names extended to the borders of Rajasthan and included some portions of western U.P., may be guessed.

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43 *Ibid.*, pp. ciii, 167-69, pl. XXIII. 11-15, XLIII. 12-14.
44 *Ibid.*, p. 270, particularly see p. XL.7.
45 Trivedi: *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi.
46 *ARASI.* 1915-16, pt. ii, pp. 101-03.
47 *ASR.* XII, p. 164 & 145.
48 *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 65.
49 *Ibid.*, XII, p. 47.
50 *Ibid.*

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The Nāga symbol as the reverse design on the coins of Śeṣadatta and its association with Vidiśā would further suggest that Śeṣadatta was no other than the Nāgarāja Śeṣa of the Purāṇas. It would also lead to the conclusion that the images from Vidiśā and its vicinity on which the symbol occurs, contrary to the belief of scholars that they are of a Gupta origin, are pieces of the Nāga art and that the Udayagiri Cave No. 6 was excavated under the Nāga patronage, and was later appropriated by the Sanakānika chieftain, a feudatory of Candragupta II, through the clever device of counter-sinking his inscription on the wall of the cave.[51] Curiously, like the inscription in the Tawa Cave nearly which says that the cave was excavated by Sāba Vīrasena, who came to Udayagiri with Candragupta II,[5] the inscription in Cave No. 6 does not say that it was excavated by the Sanakānika chief.

That Śeṣadatta had a son, called Bhogin, who, as stated before, is spoken of in such glorious terms as '*para-purañjayaḥ*' and '*Nāga-kulodvahaḥ*' in the Purāṇas,[53] may also be accepted as a historical fact. But, whether Śeṣadatta was in any way associated with Sadācandra, Candrāṁśa, spoken of as a second *Nakhavant*, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara and Bhūtinanda, included in the Purāṇic list of kings of Vidiśā, is not known. Whether Sadācandra, Candrāṁśa, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara and Bhūtinanda were also associated with Mathurā, is also not known. But when the Purāṇas say that these kings ruled from Vidiśā before the Śuṅgas,[54] their chronology, even their authenticity, becomes at once questionable, for no evidence is so far available to suggest that any kings ruled from Vidiśā between the Mauryas and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The entire history of Vidiśā as recorded in the Purāṇas is a confused mass and the different readings in the different Purāṇas make that confusion worse confounded. The different names listed there have no chronological sequence. It appears that the names of some kings who ruled from Vidiśā and some other places to its proximity after the Śuṅgas were collected together in the most arbitrary fashion by some annalist of the ilk of Tāranātha and listed among the kings of Vidiśā, some before the Śuṅgas and some after them, to give importance to the city which it did have and to himself as the knower of history, which he was not entitled to. Of these kings, however, Bhūtinanda, which appears to have been a corruption from Bhūtinandi, may have belonged to the family to which Śivanandi of the Padam Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription[55] belonged. So did it seems Śiśunandi

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51 Fleet : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III : Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 25. See also footnote on a previous page.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

53 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 49. What achievements entitled him to these distinctions, I am not in a position to speculate upon the evidence available.

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1915-16, pp. 105-06.

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and Nandiyaśas or Yaśonandi, both of whom are said to have ruled from Vidiśā after the Śuṅgas.[56] The epigraphy of *Rājñaḥ Svāmī* Śivanandi's inscription belongs to the close of the second century A.D. or the beginning of the third century A.D. This is the only record that might give some idea of the chronology of the Purāṇic list of kings of Vidiśā. Vaṅgara appears to be more of a sphinx, a mere ghost of some copyist's ignorance or imagination.[57] Dhanadharman is an equally mysterious name. Sadācandra and Candrāṁśa may be accepted as historical persons. They might have been Nāga princes and ruled from Vidiśā.

If Śeṣadatta was a Nāga king, the other kings of Mathura whose names ended in *datta* also belonged to the Nāga family. Whether all of them ruled from Vidiśā also may be speculated upon the evidence of the Purāṇas, which in their present corrupt form associate seven Nāga kings with Mathurā and the Nava-Nāgas with Campāvatī (Padmāvatī in some texts), or with Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā.[58] Even if it is reprehensible to amend a text, in the light of the evidence discussed above and the Padama Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription of Śivanandi,[59] the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta in so far it relates to the mention of some Nāga kings,[60] the Seoni copperplate inscription of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II in so far as it relates to Bhavanāga,[61] the Harṣacarita in so far as it relates to the mention of Nāgasena[62] and the coins discussed above, I would propose to reconstruct the following two lines on the Nāgas in the Purāṇas[63]

Nava Nāgāstu bhakṣyanti purīṁ Campāvatīṁ nṛpāḥ[63]
Mathurāṁ ca purīṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokṣyanti sapta vai,

as

Nava Nāgāstu bhokṣyanti purīṁ Padmāvatīṁ tathā
Kāntipurīṁ purīṁ Mathurāṁ Nāgā bhokṣyanti sapta vai.

This makes some sense. That the seven Nāgas had ruled not only from Mathurā but from Vidiśā also, therefore from Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī also, the evidence of the coins discussed above bears out. It also bears out that the Nava-Nāgas only from Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī the one discussed below. It appears that Sadācandra, Candrāṃśa, Dhanadharman, Bhūtinanda, Śivanandi and Nandiyaśas (Yaśonandi) listed in the Purāṇas belonged to another branch

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56 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 49.

57 The Purāṇa texts are hopelessly at variance where the name of Vaṅgara occurs (*Ibid.*, p. 49, fn. 14) and this makes his historicity doubtful.

58 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 53 & fn. 2.

59 *ARASI.* III, 1915-1, pt. II, pp. 101-03.

60 CIII. III, pp. 6-7.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

62 *Nāga-kula-janmanaḥ sārikāśrāvita-mantrasya āsīt nāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyām.*

63 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 53, for other readings see *ibid.*, fn. 1 & 2.

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of the Nāga family and ruled from Kāntipurī and Padmāvatī, and, if we trust the Purāṇas,[64] from Vidiśā also.

It is difficult to reconstruct the history and chronology of these Nāga houses and trace the circumstances leading to their loss of Mathurā and Vidiśā, because of utter paucity of evidence. From the evidence of the coins, however, it would appear that they lost Mathurā to the Śakas[65] shortly before Śivadatta became the Kṣatrapa at Mathurā. From his name and the coins, Śivadatta appears to have been a Nāga prince who submitted to the Śakas and they rewarded him with the office of the Kṣatrapa of Mathurā. His coins have Lakṣmī standing, facing, a vertical wavy line, tree with four branches and leaves, the symbol ɛ-o-3 and the legend in the *Brāhmī* characters, *Khatapasa Śivadatasa*, on the obverse and horse on the reverse.[66] Lakṣmī is characteristic of the obverse design of coins of kings with *datta* and *mitra* ending names of Mathurā[67] except those of Gomitra I.[68] The tree like symbol is also found on the obverse of their coins. The two symbols, a vertical wavy line and ɛ-o-3 occur on the coins of Hagāmaśa[69] and of these the latter on those of Hagāmaśa and Hagāna[70] but not on those of the kings of Mathurā. The reverse design of the horse on the coins of the Kṣatrapa Śivadatta also does not occur on the coins of the Mathurā kings noted above, while it occurs on the coins of Hagāmaśa and the joint issues of Hagāmaśa and Hagāna, both of whom, like the Kṣatrapa Śivadatta, hold the title of Kṣatrapa. This analysis of the symbols would suggest that the symbol ɛ-o-3 was characteristic of the coins of the Kṣatrapa Śivadatta, the Kṣatrapa Hagāmaśa and also the Kṣatrapa Hagāmaśa and Hagāna. The conclusion that would issue from the above evidence is that the kings of Mathurā with the *mitra* and *datta* ending names lost Mathurā to the Śakas sometime before Śivadatta became Kṣatrapa. How far the find of coins of Rāmadatta along with those of the Kṣatrapa Rañjubula at Indorekhera in the Bulandshahar District of U.P.[71] would evidence the above conclusion may be left to the judgement of scholars.

Śivadatta does not appear to have held the office of the Kṣatrapa of Mathurā long; he was soon replaced by Hagāmaśa, a Śaka, for the Śakaṣ appear

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64 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 49, ls. 4-6.

65 Allan : *op. cit.*, pp. cxi ff ; Tarn : *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 335 ; *CHI.* I, pp. 474 ff ; Leeuw : *The Scythian Period* pp. 332 ff ; Sten Konow : *CII*, II, ii, pp. xxxiii-iv ; *Com. HI* II, pp. 268 ff, etc.

66 Allan : *op. cit.*, pp. cxi-cxii & 183.

67 *Ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

69 *Ibid.*, pp. cxi-cxii, 183-84 ; Cunningham : *CAI.* pl. VIII. 6 ; *JNSI* VIII, pp. 32 ff, pl. II C. 5.

70 Allan : *op. cit.*, p. 184 ; Cunningham : *CAI* pl. VIII.7 ; Smith : *op.cit.* pp. 195-96.

71 *ASR.* XII, p. 43; Smith: *op. cit.*, p. 190.

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to have preferred one of their own kinsmen to hold charge of Mathurā, because of its great stretegic importance.

What course the history of the Nāgas followed after they had lost Mathurā to the Śakas is rather too obscure to be collected together. From some records and coins, however, it would appear that the Śakas carried war into the heart of the Nāga dominion, even beyond. These records are the Baghora (now Jabalpur Museum)[72] inscription of Śivaghoṣa, who from the Eran inscription of a Śaka chieftain, whose name is effaced would appear to have been a Śaka protege[73] and the Eran (now Sagar University Museum) inscription of a Śaka chieftain.[74]

A Śaka Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa is also known from coins, and if my surmise that Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śivaghoṣa of the Baghora inscription referred to above was a Śaka protege has any semblence of a plausibility, the former may be identified with the latter. I would not compare the epigraphy of the coins of the Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa with that of the Baghora inscription of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śivaghoṣa, for the characters on the coins at the distance of Mathurā are bound to differ from those on the stone inscription of Śivaghoṣa at Baghora near Jabalpur, even when the coins and the record might belong to the same period. If the Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa and Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śivaghoṣa are identical, it would suggest that the Śaka campaigns in Central India were commanded by Śivaghoṣa.

Whatever that be, the Śaka campaigns in Central India proved abortive. Although the Nāgas failed to recover Mathurā from the Śakas, as would appear from the enormous coinage of kings with Nāga ending names found about Padmāvatī-Gopādri-Kāntipurī region, the Padam Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription of Śivanandi and the Purāṇas, which include Sadācandra, Candrāṁśa, Dhanadharman, Vaṅgara, Bhūtinanda, Śiśunandi and Nandiyaśas (Yaśonandi) among the kings of Vidiśā, all of whom in all probability belonged to the Nāga family, they succeeded in beating the Śakas back from Padmāvatī-Gopādri-Kāntipurī region and Vidiśā. But their hold over Vidiśā now was short lived, for not long after clouds of misfortune came crashing upon them from another direction and they lost Vidiśā to the Sātavāhanas. The Sātavāhanas had failed to take Vidiśā earlier, in the middle of the second century B.C., when their king Śātakarṇī I conquered Tripurī[75] and Ujjain.[76] The evidence on the Sātavāhana occupation of Vidiśā begins to appear from the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., in the coins of the Sātavāhana Śātakarṇī

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72 Baghora is some twelve miles from Jabalpur on the road to Sagar. I quote from my own ink-impression. See also Above XX, pp. 442 ff and for comments by me XXII, pp. 369 ff.

73 I quote from an impression supplied by Prof. Bajpai K. D. of the Sagar University.

74 For details see Above XXII, pp. 371-72.

75 For Śātakarṇī I's coins from, and conquest of Tripurī see *JNSI.* XIII, pp. 35 ff; *IHQ.* XXVIII, pp. 71 ff; *JNSI.* XXXII, pp. 46 ff; etc. His coins have been since reported in large numbers from Tripurī.

76 Rapson: BMC. *Coins of Andhras and Kṣatrapas,* pp. XCII-XCIII,

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II found about the region south of Vidiśā.[77] The Sanchi railing inscription of Śātakarṇī II provides an indisputable evidence[78] on it. The Sātavāhana hold over Vidiśā was also not long, for, as would the Bheraghat inscription referred to before bear out, the Śaka Bhuvaka or Bhūmaka appears to have conquered it.[79] Nahapāna[80] lost it to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī,[81] but after Rudradāman[82] had recovered it, the Śakas remained in its undisputed possession until Candragupta II seized it.

The Nāgas, however, remained in possession of Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī somehow, if Śivanandi of the Maṇibhadra image inscription, Śiśunandi, Yaśonandi and Bhūtinanda of the Purāṇas belong to the Nāga family. But unlike the Nāgas of Mathurā, who were the followers of the Viṣṇu cult, they were Śaiva. How long these kings, whose names ended in *nandi* ruled from Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī and how they disappeared from the scene is not known. The ambition of the Kuśāṇas, who had in the meantime supplanted the Śaka rule at Mathurā and who sought expansion of their dominion southward, added to the misfortune of the Nāgas at Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī.

Even if the Sanchi image inscription of Vāsaśka dated in the year 28 of the Era[83] used by the Kuśāṇas is a slender evidence for a Kuśāṇa occupation of the Padmāvatī-Kāntipurī region, for the image, of Mathurā red-sandstone as it is, might have been carved and inscribed at Mathurā and taken to Sanchi to be installed there, there is no denying the fact that under the stress of a long struggle with the Śakas, the Sātavāhanas and the Kuśāṇas, the Nāgas were temporarily overwhelmed until, as would the enormous coinage of kings with *nāga* ending names from this region indicate[84] new line of the family retrieved the fortune of the family and restored its dominion in the region. The epigraphy

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77 *JNSI.* XII, p. 95, pl. X. 11. My attribution of this coin to Śātakarṇī I is wrong. The epigraphy of the legend on the coin is definitely later than that of the coins of Śātakarṇī I from Tripurī and Ujjain. Some more coins of Śātakarṇī are now known from the region to which the coin published by me belongs, but they have remained unpublished.

78 Lüders' *List* No. 346; *EI.* II, pp. 88-89; Marshall & Foucher ; *op. cit.* I, pp. 5, 275-77. The inscription is that of Śātakarṇī II, who may be the sixth of the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings; he cannot be in any case identified with Śātakarṇī I.

79 The Bheraghat (now Nagpur Museum) image inscription. I quote from my own ink-impression of the record, which is very much defaced. The image was set up by the *duhitā*, daughter, of *Mahārāja* Bhuvaka Bhūmaka.

80 Rapson : *op. cit.*, pp. cx-cxi.

81 *EI.* VIII, p. 73; *ASWI.* IV, p. 105.

82 Rapson : *op. cit.*, p. cxix; *EI.* VIII, p. 36; *ASWI.* II, p. 128, etc.

83 *EI.* II, pp 369-70 ; IX p. 244 ; Marshall & Foucher : *op.cit.* I, p. 386.

84 H. V. Trivedi : *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii ff. Thousands of coins of these kings are available in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, and with local collectors there.

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of the coins with *nāga* ending names would suggest that these kings ruled for about two centuries before they were overwhelmed by Samudragupta.[85] It is these kings with *nāga* ending names evidently who are called the Nava-Nāgas in the Purāṇas.[86] In view of the fact that their number is more than nine[87] and the evidence discussed above, '*Nava*' should be interpreted to mean 'New' and not 'Nine'.

We might now conclude that while the seven Nāga kings with *datta* ending names ruled from Mathurā over a dominion which included Hastināpura, Mathurā, Kāntipurī, Padmāvatī, and Vidiśā, those with *nandi* ending names ruled over Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī, and also Vidiśā perhaps, and the Nava-Nāgas over the one which included Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī and that Śeṣadatta of the two Gwalior coins, who is no other than the Nāga-rāja Śeṣa of the Purāṇas, was one of the seven kings of Mathurā with *datta* ending names.

The date of Śeṣadatta may now be discussed. Allan assigns all kings of Mathurā with *mitra* and *datta* ending names and Balabhūti to the second and first centuries B.C. at one place,[88] to the period from the end of the third century to the middle of the first century B.C. at another,[89] from the late third century B.C. to 60 B.C. at a third,[90] and from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C.[91] at a fourth. Smith on the other hand is of the view that these kings preceded the Kṣatrapas, of whom Hagāmaśa and Hagāna preceded Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa. He places Śoḍāsa in the last quarter of the second century B.C., i e. in 125-100 B.C.[92] B.B. Lal, although he quotes Smith as his source, curiously assigns the rulers of Mathurā with *datta* ending names, of whom five coins he obtained from Period IV horizons at Hastināpura, of which two[93] he attributes to Śeṣadatta, to the second century B.C.[94] None of these dates would seem to accord with the evidence of the coins, according to which kings of Mathurā with *datta* ending names ruled between kings with *mitra* ending names and the Kṣatrapas Śivadatta, Hagāmaśa and Hagāmaśa and Hagāna. If the date of the kings with *mitra* ending names is not certain, that of the Śaka conquest of Mathurā is disputed. One thing, no doubt,

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85 *CII.* II, pp. 6-7.

86 Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 51,

87 Trivedi H. V. *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff. He lists names of twelve kings. I have one coin of Rudra, whose name does not appear in Trivedi's list.

88 Allan : *op. cit.*, p. CVIII.

89 *Ibid.*, p. CXI.

90 *Ibid.*, p. CXVI.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 169 & 181; Tarn (*op. cit.*, p. 325) accepts this date.

92 Smith: *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

93 *Ancient India* No. 10-11, p. 101, C. Mathurā Copper Coins.

94 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

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is certain that the Mitra kings ruled from Mathurā after the Yavana invasion, for named coins did not come in circulation in India before that invasion.

But, the history and chronology of the Yavana invasion are a matter of controversy. While some scholars are of the view that the invasion was led by Demetrius I. son of Euthydemus, others hold that it was organised by Menander. Neither space nor the occasion permits me to go into the controversy.[94] Irrespective of these views, the date of the invasion, which was organised by no other than Demetrius I himself, cannot be fixed far too distant from 170 B.C. Therefore, the first Mitra king of Mathūrā, whoscever he was, cannot be placed before c. 170 B.C., and even if we assign a reign of ten years each to Balabhūti and the eight Mitra and seven Datta kings of Mathurā, the epoch of Balabhūti and the Mitra kings would end about c. 80 B.C. and that of the Datta kings in about c. 170 B.C. and that of the Datta kings in about c. 10 B.C., about which then Śivadatta would have become a Kṣatrapa. The epigraphy of the coins of Śeṣadatta belongs to the end of the first century B.C. or to the beginning of the first century A.D. In any case it is earlier than the coins of the Kṣatrapas Śivadatta, Hagāmaśa, Hagāmaśa and Hagāna, and some of the kings of Mathurā with *datta* ending names. The letter *ta* is perhaps the only character that allows a paleographic comparison of the legends on the coins of the above named Kṣatrapas and Śeṣadatta. On the coins of Śeṣadatta it still retains the fonk like form.

It is not unlikely that some of these Mitra and Nāga kings ruled contemporaneously with each other in different parts of Middle and North India, because sixteen kings successively ruling for an average of ten years each would be something quite an extraordinary phenomenon. Therefore, unless we obtain fresh evidence or the present one responds favourably to the dates proposed above, I would prefer to leave the matter here, also because if I pursue it, it would require a discussion of the entire Śaka-Kṣatrapa and Kuśāṇa chronology. That none of these Mathurā kings was a vessal of the Śuṅgas is certain fromt he fact that Mathurā was never included in the dominion of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, much less in that of any of his successors.[95]

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94 Some idea of the controversy on the subject may be had from Tarn : *The Greeks in Bactria and India*; Altheim : *Asien Im Greichischon Zeitalter*, 2 vols; Narain : The *Indo-Greeks*. I wonder if the views of any of them on date of the Yavana invasion can be accepted. My studies on the subject have led me to conclude that Demetrius I died in c. 173 B.C.

95 I do not agree with those who think that Mathurā was included in the dominion of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, for the entire theory is based on myths and legends which defy all historical proportion. I propose to discuss the problem elsewhere.

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REPETITIONS IN THE RATNĀVALĪ OF ŚRĪ HARṢA

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Repetition mars beauty ; it detracts from the skill of the author. Such are generally the charges made against repetition. Skilled writers, therefore, avoid repetition of words, phrases or sentences in their works. Śrī Harṣa, the author of *Ratnāvalī*, must have been aware of this defect arising from repetition, yet we find in his *Ratnāvalī* some intentional and purposeful repetitions. This article is an attempt to study the significance of these repetitions.

The repetitions in the play can be grouped as under :—

Group I : The Sārikā repeats some part of the conversation that took place between Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā.

Group II : (1) The king Udayana repeats his words in Acts II. 8, II. 10, III.14.

(2) Kāñcanamālā repeats her words viz. "*hatāśa smariṣyasyetad vacanam*".

(3) The Vidūṣaka repeats his words, "*Ko'nyaḥ kusumacāpavyapadeśenaivam nihnūyate*".

These repetitions have a definite purpose, but it will be noticed that the purpose of the repetitions occurring at different places in the play is not identical. An examination of these repetitions shows that Harṣa has two-fold purpose in resorting to the device of repetition, viz. (1) Development of the plot in the first group of repetition and (2) Characterisation in the second group of repetitions.

A dramatist makes use of certain devices for furthering the plot of the play, e.g. the role of the Vidūṣaka in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*; the writing of a love letter by Urvaśī in the *Vikramorvaśīyam*; the ring-episode and the curse of the sage Durvāsas in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*; the scene in the pleasure-garden in the fourth act of the *Svapnavāsavadattam* etc. Instances of this type can be multiplied. Repetition by the Sārika, of the conversation between Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā has the same purpose viz. to further the plot of the play.

In the first act Sāgarikā sees Udayana on the occasion of *Madanamahotsava*; ever since then she is enamoured of him. For the development of their love, which is the theme of the drama, it is necessary for Udayana to know her feelings for him. Generally in a play it is the heroine's friend who does the job of a *madana-dūtī* by describing to the hero the feelings of the heroine. Here in the *Ratnāvalī*, Harṣa has shown his artistic sense in choosing a bird for conveying

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Sāgarikā's love to Udayana. It was possible for him to employ this bird for this delicate mission because as remarked by Susaṅgatā this bird is capable of reproducing whatever is heard by it (c.f. *Kadāpyeṣāsyālāpasya gṛhītākṣarā bhūtvā kasyāpi purato mantrayiṣyate*). While repeating the speech of Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā from the mouth of the Sārikā, Harṣa has shown his skill and sense of properiety inasmuch as he has not repeated the entire conversation of these girls. The main object of this repetition being " conveying of Sāgarikā's love to Udayana and rousing his curiosity," the poet repeats only those sentences which are enough to serve his purpose. The Sārikā rouses the curiosity of Udayana. Her speech is the verbal proof of Sāgarikā's love for him, which the king later on connects with the picture-board which is a written proof of Sāgarikā's love. Thus skilfully and artistically Harṣa succeeds in disclosing the secret of Sāgarikā to Udayana through the Sārikā. When this secret is unfolded, the development of the plot follows.

As regards the second group of repetitions, it can be said that for effective characterisation Harṣa has resorted to the device of repetition. In the world around us we come across persons with peculiar habits and traits which they display under particular circumstances. For giving a tinge of reality to his characters, a dramatist also endows his characters with different habits and traits, and shows how they act and behave under particular circumstances. This exactly is the purpose of the second group of repetitions in the *Ratnāvalī*.

In the second act the king repeats his words in II. 8 which means, " That which is said before her friends by a love-stricken maiden suffering from irresistible love-torment, the same repeated by children, and parrots and starlings unexpectedly comes within the hearing of fortunate persons only ". This is the king's remark about the speech of the Sārikā which he has just heard. After the Sārikā has flown away, the Vidūṣaka leads the king to the plantain-arbour. The speech of the Sārikā and the remark of the Vidūṣaka, " Why do you not say straight—not having obtained me? Who else could be concealed under the guise of the flower-weapond God? ", rouse his curiosity ; his emotion having been stirred he becomes anxious (*niḥśvasya*). Even after going to the plantain-arbour he does not come out of his distraught mood. His mind is still hovering round the contents of the speech of the Sārikā and what he feels about it, and hence he appears to repeat his remark (II. 8).

The king and the Vidūṣaka then go to the plantain-arbour where the Vidūṣaka finds the picture-board. The king takes it forcibly from the Vidūṣaka and observes it with admiration and remarks, " Having formed the unique full moon of her face, the creator must have surely become ill-placed on account of the closing up of the lotus forming his seat. " Then enter Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā. Both of them start going towards the plantain-arbour to take away

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the picture-board which they have left there while running away from there on hearing a monkey broken loose from its stable. Vidūṣaka observing the picture-board asks the king why Sāgarikā is painted with her face hung down. On hearing these words of the Vidūṣaka and thinking that the king also might be there, the two girls remain hidden behind the trees. Now the scene is bifocal. The king being very much engrossed in observing the portrait of Sāgarikā fails to take note of the Vidūṣāka's question ; and instead of replying to his question, the king Udayana, being deeply impressed by Sāgarikā's loveliness in the portrait, wishes to draw the attention of the Vidūṣaka by repeating his remark in II. 10. It will be thus noticed that the king has a habit of repeatedly expressing those ideas which haunt his mind. This is a peculiar trait in him. Secondly because of the bifocal scene repetition of verse II. 10 serves another purpose also ; it reveals to Sāgarikā the king's admiration for her for the first time.

In the third act the king is caught red-handed by Vāsavadattā whom he mistook for Sāgarikā. He requests her to embrace him. On seeing Vāsavadattā offended, he falls at her feet and requests her to show compassion to him (III.14). The queen disregards his prostrations and starts going away. So the king repeats his request in III. 14.

The situation shows that the king is very much embarrassed, he feels ashamed of himself (*vilakṣaḥ*) and does not know what to say (*pratyakṣadṛṣṭa-vyalīkaḥ kim bravīmi*) and therefore he repeats what he said in III. 14.

All the three repetitions reveal emotional and sensitive character of the king Udayana.

In this play Kāñcanamālā, who is the queen's maid, repeats her words viz. " *hatāśa smariṣyasyetadvacanam* ". She repeats these words on two occasions when the Vidūṣaka encourages Sāgarikā (i.e. Vāsavadattā dressed like Sāgarikā and hence mistaken to be Sāgarikā) to approach Udayana and express her love for him. Situation thus being similar, she repeats her words. Secondly on both the occasions this speech of Kāñcanamālā is preceded by the stage direction " *apavārya* " (aside) which means that these words of Kāñcanamālā are meant for Vāsavadattā alone. It will be noticed that Kāñcanamālā is a servant of Vāsavadattā. Servants are in the habit of flattering their masters or uttering cheerful words to console them when they need consolation. In the present context, Kāñcanamālā appears to repeat the word, " *hatāśa smariṣyasyetadvacanam* " to console Vāsavadattā who is offended by the Vidūṣaka. In these words Kāñcanamālā implies a threat to the Vidūṣaka that he will be severely punished for his mischief. Such a threat to her offender will be a consolation to Vāsavadattā. Lastly the word " *hatāśa* " appears to be her favourite because again in act III, a little further, she says to the Vidūṣaka, " *hatāśa anubhavedānīmātmano durnayasya phalam* ".

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On hearing the speech of the Sārikā, the Vidūṣaka guesses that the king's portrait is painted on the picture-board and hence he remarks, "*anyathā ko'nyaḥ kusumacāpavyapadeśenaivam nihnūyate*" (who else could be concealed under the guise of the flower-weaponed God?). Later on the king and the Vidūṣaka go to the plantain-arbour where they discover the picture-board. The Vidūṣaka's guess is corroborated by the picture-board and proudly reminding the king about his correct guess, he repeats what he said previously about the portrait (*Ko'nyaḥ .....nihnūyate*). It will be remembered here that the Vidūṣaka in Sanskrit drama is in the habit of boasting.[1] The Vidūṣaka in the *Ratnāvalī* is no exception to that. He describes himself as the "King's minister who laughs at the intellectual powers of Bṛhaspati (c f. *yasya te upahasitabṛhaspatibuddhivibhavo' mātyaḥ*—III)." Thus the repetition of the words "*Ko'nyaḥ .....nihnūyate*" throws light on the boasting nature of the Vidūṣaka.

The above discussion will prove that Harṣa has used repetition as a device. The repetitions are few, and secondly, excluding the speech of the Sārikā, the other repeated speeches are short and, therefore, they do not spoil the charm of the situation nor do they hamper the progress of the play.

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1 c.f. (1) *Prathamopadeśadarśane prathamam brāhmaṇasya pūjā kartavyā—Mālavikāgnimitram*—II.

(2) *Bhoḥ, brāhmaṇasaṅkrāmitākṣareṇa te pitāmahenābhyanujñātaḥ āsanasthito bhava—Vikramorvaśīyam*—III.

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THE DATE OF MAṄKHA'S ŚRĪKAṆṬHACARITA

By

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The so long accepted date of Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is sometime between 1135 A.D. and 1145 A.D. Prof. G. Bühler first assumed this date (vide "Detailed report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmi, Rajputana and central India" by Dr. G. Bühler, extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1877; p. 50). Prof. M. A. Stein considered the date to be between 1128 A.D. than to the earlier date (vide *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*—M. A. Stein; Motilal Banarasidass, 1961, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 12). Prof. P. V. Kane in his introuction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (5th edition, 1965; p. VI) says that the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* was composed about 1140 A.D. Dr. B. N. Bhatt in his work *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam*—A study (Baroda-1973, p. 24) mentions Maṅkha as a contemporary of Jayasiṁha, the king of Kashmir. Other scholars follow Prof. Bühler in this respect (vide "History of Sanskrit literature of Kashmir" by Sunil Chandra Ray in *Indian Historical quarterly*, Vol. 31, p. 252; *History of Sanskrit literature*—S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, 1962, p. 32[illegible]; *History of Sanskrit Poetics*—S. K. De, 2nd edition, 1960, Vol. 1, p. 181 etc).

We are, of course, indebted to Prof. Bühler for his view, yet we humbly draw the attention of scholars for a review in the light of our reasons and evidences furnished below.

We must admit that Prof. Bühler's assumption on the date of composition of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* touches the proximity of truth to a great extent as may be evinced from our discussion, yet we regret that he did not help us by furnishing any evidence to support the fixation of the upper limit of the date and that his evidence to support the lower limit of the date is inadequate and wrong as may be seen below.

Following Mr. Prinsep (vide *Essays on Indian Antiquities*—James Prinsep, London, 1858, Vol. II, p. 258), Prof. Bühler assigned the date of Govindacandra, the king of Kanauj, mentioned by Maṅkha in his poem (XXV. 102), between 1120 A.D. and 1144 A.D. (vide Bühler's *report*, p. 51). But this view of Prof. Bühler goes against inscriptional evidences. For, so long known dates of Govindacandra, the Gāhaḍvāla king of Kanauj, range from A.D. 1114 to A.D. 1154. The Kamauli copper plate inscription (described in *Epigraphia Indica*—IV, pp. 101-103), the Bhadaini Temple, Banaras, copper plate inscription (described in Ibid., VIII. pp. 152-153) and the Pali Gorakhpur district copper

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plate inscription (referred to in Ibid , V. p. 114, note 4 and also in Ibid., VII, pp. 98-99) refer to Govindacandra's reign in 1114 A.D. Again, another Kamauli copper plate inscription (described in Ibid., IV. pp. 116-117) refers to Govindacandra's reign in 1154 A.D. Forty-two inscriptions of Govindacandra's reign bear dates falling between 1114 A.D. and 1154 A.D. (vide *History of Kanauj*—Dr. R. S. Tripāthī, 1959, Appendix B. pp. 369-374). The last known date of his predecessor, his father Madanpāla, is 1109 A.D. (vide Rahan copper plate inscription, described in *Indian Antiquary*, XVIII. pp. 14-19) and the first known date of his successor Vijayacandra, his son, is 1167 A.D. (vide Kamauli copper plate inscription, described in *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 117-120). So, it is clear that Govindacandra ascended the throne of his father some time before 1114 A.D. (between 1109 and 1114 A.D.), and ceased to reign shortly after 1154 A.D. C.1155 A.D. (vide *History of Kanauj*—Dr. R. S. Tripāthī, pp. 307, 317, 369-374 and *History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. V., 2nd edition, 1966, general editor—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, pp. 52 and 54).

From above we see that the lower limit of the date of composition of *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* cannot be fixed in 1145 A.D. on the evidence of the mention of Govindacandra in the poem. If, however, we try to assume the lower limit of the date on the above-mentioned evidence, we should fix it in C. 1155 A.D., the date which may also be assigned on the evidence of Maṅkha's reference to Jayasiṁha, the king of Kashmir.

Now let us look into Maṅkha's poem. In the third canto of the poem (verse No. 66) Maṅkha informs us that he was appointed as an officer in the affairs of protection of subjects (*Prajāpālanapuruṣa*, i.e., *Dharamādhikārin*, as explained by Jonarāja in his commentary on the poem) by the king Jayasiṁha, the son of the king Sussala. The contents of the third canto and the verse 61 of the 25th canto of the poem show that Jayasiṁha, referred to here, was the king of Kashmir. From Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we come to know that Jayasiṁha ruled Kashmir from the *Laukika* are (42) 03 to (42) 25 ; i.e., from 1128 A.D. to 1150 A.D. (vide *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*—M.A. Stein, Vol. II, VIII, 3404). But the last date of Jayasiṁha's reign cannot be determined from Kalhaṇa's evidence, for at the end of his chronicle, Kalhaṇa described Jayasiṁha as a ruling sovereign (vide Ibid., 3448) and he gave no account of Jayasiṁha's reign after 1150 A.D. Jonarāja, the writer of the second and supplementary *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, informs us that Jayasiṁha ruled for five years longer, i.e. upto 1155 A.D. (vide *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja*, Calcutta edition, 1836, verses 27-39).

Again in the 25th canto of his poem (verses 1 and 14 ff) Maṅkha informs us that just after the composition of his poem he placed it for a review before the assembly of learned men and poets, held under the court of his elder brother Alaṅkāra, a minister of Jayasiṁha. We have seen that Jayasiṁha reigned from

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1128 A.D. to 1155 A.D. So, it is evident from above that the date of composition of Maṅkha's poem falls between 1128 A.D. and 1155 A.D.

Now we shall try to assign, as far as possible a more precise date of composition of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita.*

From the reasons, stated below, we think that the upper limit of the date of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* cannot be earlier than 1136 A.D. Firsly, in his poem (XXV. 73-75) Maṅkha informs us that a poet Jalhaṇa, a minister for peace and war of Rājapurī, was present in the above-mentioned assembly of learned men and poets. From *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* we get the following informations about the king of Rājapurī, reiging in the 12th century A.D.

Somapāla was the king of Rājapurī and he ascended his paternal throne sometime in the reign of Uccala, the king of Kashmir (Vide *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*—Stein, VIII. 288-9), who reigned from 1101 A.D. to 1111 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 341 and Ibid., VII. 1717). Somapāla reigned also during the reign of Jayasiṁha, the king of Kashmir (Vide Ibid., VIII. 1529, 1647-49, 1850-53 etc.). Though the former concluded a treaty with the latter in the middle part of 1128 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 1529, 1525 and 1348), the former entered into conspiracy against the latter in the middle part of 1129 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 1642, 1348, 1497, 1525, 1576, 1604, 1632, 1650, 1661-2, 1775).

Again Somapāla entered into matrimonial alliance with Jayasiṁha in the later part of 1129 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 1647-9 and verses quoted above, excepting 1642). But again the former made political intrigues against the latter in the first half of 1130 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 1850-53, 1775 and 1873). At last Somapāla, being troubled by his son Bhūpāla, took Jayasiṁha's resort for self-protection in the middle part of 1133 A.D. (Vide Ibid., 2215 and 2185). From above we see that Somapāla's political alliance with Jayasiṁha was not settled before the middle part of 1133 A.D. Again, one Jalhaṇa, different from the compiler of Sūktimuktāvalī, is known to be the writer of a poem Somapālavilāsa which is assumed to be an account of his patron Somapāla, the king of Rājapurī (Vide *History of Sanskrit literature*—S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De; pp. 360-677). Jalhaṇa, referred to here, must be identified with Jalhaṇa, the minister for peace and war of Rājapurī, who was present in Alaṁkāra's assembly, held during Jayasiṁha's reign ; for Somapāla was the king of Rājapurī during Jayasiṁha's reign and Jalhaṇa, the former's minister, wrote the account of his patron. So, it is evident that Somapāla sent his minister to the assembly held under Alaṅkāra, in which Maṅkha placed his poem for a review. We have seen that Sompāla's political alliance with Jayasiṁha was not settled before the middle part of 1133 A.D. (vide Supra p. 3). So, it is likely that Somapāla could not send his minister before 1133 A.D. to the assembly held under Alaṅkāra who was a minister of Jayasiṁha. Then, as Maṅkha's poem was read just after its composition in the above-mentioned assembly (vide supra p. 3). So, the date of its composition can not be earlier than 1133 A.D.

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Secondly, Maṅkha, who was employed in royal office under Jayasiṁha (vide Supra p. 2), must have composed his poem in a peaceful period of his patron's reign. From Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we come to know that the early part Jayasiṁha's reign, extending from 1128 A.D. to the middle part of 1136 A.D., was full of struggles (vide *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*—Stein VIII. 1348 ff, 2309-33, 2340-41, 2351. 2355 and 2375 ; vide also Ibid., vol. I introduction, pp. 16-17 and 123-26) ; while the middle part of his reign, extending from the later part of 1136 A.D. to 1142 A.D. and also the later part of his reign, extending from the later part of 1145 A.D. to 1150 A.D., were comparatively peaceful (vide Ibid. VIII. 2309 ff, 2481, 2488, 2495, 2514-19, 2607 and 2641 ; vide also 3179, 3278, 3305, 3404 and 3448 and also Ibid., vol. II, Introduction pp. 17 and 126-27). Though Mr. Stein stated that Jayasiṁha's country 'obtained a respite from its trouble and sufferings' in 1135 A.D. (vide Ibid., vol. 1, Introduction, p. 17). We think for the reasons given below that the early struggles of Jayasiṁha continued upto the middle of 1136 A.D. From Kalhaṇa's narrative we learn that Mallārjuna, an enemy of Jayasiṁha, was imprisoned in the month of Āśvina, i.e. August September in 1135 A.D. (vide Ibid., VIII. 2309). Thereafter Mallārjuna incited Jayasiṁha against Citraratha and Koṣṭhaka (vide Ibid. 2311). Then Koṣṭhaka was attacked and caught and he died after many nights in prison (vide Ibid., 2313, 2340). Citraratha fled but died after eight months (vide Ibid., 2344, 2355). Kalhaṇa describes this period as a debased one (vide Ibid., 2375). Thereafter he gives an account of Jayasiṁha's pious acts and describes the condition of Kashmir as free from obstacles (vide Ibid., 2376 ff and 2384). These facts lead us to conclude that Jayasiṁha's early struggles continued upto the middle of 1136 A.D. Mr. Stein also refers elsewhere to the above-mentioned incidents which took place after 1135 A.D. and calls the subsequent period as 'peaceful interval' (vide Ibid., vol. I, introduction, p. 126). From above we conclude that the earlier limit of the date of composition of Maṅkha's poem is to be fixed in the later part of 1136 A.D.

Now we shall try to ascertain the lower limit of the date. From the reasons, given below, we think that the lower limit of the date should not be placed later than 1142 A.D.

Firstly, as the poem was composed during the regin of Jayasiṁha of Kashmir, who ruled from 1128 A.D. to 1155 A.D., so, its date of composition can not be later than 1155 A.D.

Secondly, from Maṅkha's poem we learn that Aparāditya, the king of Kuṁkuṇa (Koṅkaṇ), sent his ambassador to the assembly held under Alaṁkāra, a minister of Jayasiṁha, the king of Kashmir (vide *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. XXV. 108-III). From historical evidences we come to know of the two kings of the same name as Aparāditya, both kings of Koṅkaṇa in the 12th century A.D. Aparāditya-I reigned from C. 1110 A.D. to C. 1140 A.D. and Aparadity-II

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reigned from C. 1170 A.D. to C. 1195 A.D. (vide " Indian Culture, " *Journal of the Indian Research Institute*, vol. II, October, 1935 Calcutta, pp. 411 and 416). Prof. Bühler identified Aparāditya ' whose inscriptions are dated 1185 and 1186 ', as he said, with Aparāditya who sent his ambassador to the above-mentioned assembly (vide Bühler's *report*, pp. 51-52). But this identification is wrong as Aparāditya, whose known dates are 1186 and 1187 A.D. (not 1185 and 1186 A.D. vide *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII, 1876, Article IX, p. 335 and Ibid. vol. XIII, 1877, Article 1, p. 13), is Aparāditya-II and Aparāditya, who sent his ambassador to the above-mentioned assembly is Aparāditya-I whose known dates range from 1118 A.D. to 1139 A.D. vide *Indian Culture*, vol. II, pp. 411, 413-14).

From above we see that Maṅkha refers to Aparāditya-I whose last known date is 1139 A.D. Again, the first known date of Harapāladeva, the successor of Aparāditya-I, is 1149 A.D. So, the last date of the reign of Aparāditya-I, can not be later than 1149 A.D. Hence, as Aparāditya-I is mentioned by Maṅkha in his poem, so the lower limit of its date of composition can not be later than 1149 A.D. Thirdly, Kalhaṇa mentions Maṅkha as a minister for peace and war (vide *Rājataraṅgiṇī* -Stein VIII.3354) and refers to Alaṅkāra, Maṅkha's brother, as a ' superintendent of great treasury ' (vide, ibid., 2423) and as a judge (Ibid., 2557, 2618 etc.) ; while Maṅkha calls himself as an officer in the affairs of protection of subjects (*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* III. 66) and mentions his brother Alaṅkāra as a minister for peace and war (Ibid., III. 62 and XXV. 61). These facts prove that Kalhaṇa wrote later and so mentioned Maṅkha's and his brother's later posts ; while Maṅkha wrote earlier and so referred to their earlier posts. From Kalhaṇa's narrative itself we learn that he wrote his poem between the *Laukika* years (42) 24 and (42) 25 which correspond to A.D. 1148 and A.D. 1150 (vide *Rājataraṅgiṇī*-Stein, 1.52 and VIII. 3404; vide also Ibid., vol. 1, Introduction, p. 6).

Hence, as Maṅkha composed his poem before Kalhaṇa wrote his chronicle (1148-50 A.D.), so the lower limit of the formers' poem can not be later than 1148 A.D.

Lastly, we get the following informations from Kalhaṇa, which help us to come to a conclusion.

Jayasiṁha captured Loṭhana in the Śirahśilā castle in the month of *phālguna* in the (*Laukika*) year (42) 19 (vide Ibid., VIII. 2641), corresponding to January-February, 1144 A.D. Jaysiṁha's troops seized the castle some time before Loṭhana's captivity (vide Ibid., 2552 ff, 2585, 2589, 2612, 2619). Sometime before the seizure of the castle Jayasiṁha's ministers advised him to make peace with their enemy (Ibid., 2542). Again, though Jayasiṁha's troops held on stoutly for three or four months, yet, upto that time, they were unable to

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seize those who were in the castle (Ibid., 2515). Jayasiṁha 'put firmness into his troops by showing his wrath to those who fled through fear of the long absence from their homes,' (Ibid., 2514). From above we see that before the seizure of the Śirahśilā, castle, Jayasiṁha's troops stayed there for a long period. Even three or four months had passed before the time when Jayasiṁha took his decision for the seizure of the castle. Again, some days must have passed between the period of the seizure of the castle and that of Loṭhana's captivity. Hence, it is evident from above that as Loṭhana was captured between January and February in 1144 A.D., so the period of Jayasiṁha's starting for the expedition against the Śirahśilā castle falls at least in the second half of the year 1143 A.D., if not earlier.

Again, it is clear from *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Stein, VIII. 2557, 2618) that Alaṅkāra belonged to Jayasiṁha's troops at the time of the expedition against the Śirahaśilā castle. Alaṅkāra's activity is mentioned in connection with the seizure of the Śirahaśilā castle (Ibid.), which occured in the beginning of the year 1144 A.D. (Ibid., 2552, 2641). In this connection Alaṁkāra is mentioned as a 'minister holding the charge of the outer royal 'court (*Bāhyarājasthāna*) and also as 'the Chief justice' (*Rājasthānīya*) (Ibid., 2575, 2618). These facts prove that Alaṁkāra held the post of a judge in the beginning of 1144 A.D. It is also likely that he held the post near about the middle of 1143 A.D. when he, belonging to Jayasiṁha's troops, started for the expedition against the Śirahaśilā castle. Again, Kalhaṇa, after narrating Jayasiṁha's early struggles which continued, as we have seen (vide supra p. 4), to the middle of 1136 A.D., gives an account of the pious acts of Jayasiṁha and his ministers. In this connection Kalhaṇa refers to Alaṅkāra as a 'superintendent of great treasury' (*Bṛhadgañjā*) (Ibid., 2423). So, it is clear that Alaṁkāra held the post of the superintendent of great treasury before he attained the post of justice: i.e., sometime before the middle of 1143 A.D.

Again, Maṅkha, being an earlier writer than Kalhaṇa, refers to Alaṁkāra's earlier post and mentions him as a minister for peace and war under Sussala and Jayasiṁha (Śrīkaṇṭhacarita-III. 62, XXV. 61); while Kalhaṇa refers to Alaṁkāra's later posts only (vide supra p. 5). Kalhaṇa also informs us that Jayasiṁha placed the burden of affairs on his father's (Sussala's) ministers (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Stein, VIII. 1602). So, it is likely that Alaṅkāra was appointed as a minister for peace and war by Sussala and the former held the same post in the early period of Jayasiṁha's reign also. We have seen that Alaṁkāra held the post of the Superintendent of great treasury sometime before the middle of 1143 A.D. Kalhaṇa does not refer to any post held by Alaṅkāra, earlier than this. So, it is evident that Alaṁkāra held the post of a minister for pease and war before he attained the post of the Superintendent of great treasury; i.e., sometime before 1143 A.D.

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Hence, as Maṅkha mentions Alaṅkāra in his poem as a minister for peace and war, the post which the latter attained sometime before 1143 A.D., so the former's poem must have been composed before 1143 A.D.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the lower limit of the date of Maṅkha's poem can not be later than 1142 A.D.

From above we see that Maṅkha's poem was composed sometime between 1136 A.D. and 1142 A.D. we have already stated that this period of Jayasiṁha's reign was peaceful (vide supra p. 4). We also see that during this period Jayasiṁha established political relations with foreign kings like the king of Kānyakubja etc. (vide *Kalhaṇa's Rāja'araṅgiṇī* Stein, VIII. 2453). It is obvious that the king of Kānyakubja, referred to here, is no other than Govindacandra, the *Gāhaḍvāla* king of Kanauj, who sent his ambassador to the assembly held under Alaṁkāra. These facts too support our view.

Regarding the more probable date of composition of the poem, we however, differ from Mr. Stein who, depending upon Prof. Bühler, assigned the date nearer to 1144 A D. on the evidence of the king Aparāditya, who, as he said, still ruled A.D. 1186 (Supra. p. 1). We have alrady seen that Aparāditya whose known dates are 1186 and 1187 A.D. is Aparāditya-II (supra p. 5) and Aparāditya, mentioned in Maṅkha's poem, is Aparāditya-I. So, on the evidence of Aparāditya-II, the date of Maṅkha's poem can not be ascertained. On the other hand we believe for the reasons given below that the date of composition of the *Śrīkuṇṭhacarita* lies nearer to 1136 A.D. than to 1142 A.D.

Firstly, according to Prof. P. V. Kane, Lakṣmīdhara composed his *Kṛtyakalpataru* between 1100 A.D. and 1130 A.D. and Aparārka composed his commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, called *Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstranibandha*, between 1110 A.D. and 1130 A.D. (vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*- P. V. Kane, 1953, vol. IV, p. X).

Lakṣmīdhara was the minister for peace and war of Govindacandra, the king of Kanauj, (vide *History and Culture of Indian people*—general editor—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, vol. V, p. 332). Aparārka, the writer of the above-mentioned commentary, was the same person as Aparaditya-I, the king of Koṅkaṇa (vide *Indian Culture*, vol. II pp. 413-414, see also Bühler's *report*, Appendix, p. CXII). So, it is likely that Maṅkha, contemporary of Aparārka (i.e. Aparāditya-I) and Lakṣmīdhara, wrote his poem nearer to a date of literary activity of his contemporaries. Hence, it is more probable that the date of composition of Maṅka's poem is nearer to 1136 A.D. than to 1142 A.D.

Secondly, as the *Kāvyaprakāśasaṁketa* of Māṇikyacandra, composed in 1159-60 A.D. refers to the *Alaṁkārasarvasva* (vide *History of Sanskrit poetics*, P. V. Kane, p. 285), which again quotes verses from the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, (vide *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Kāvyamāla 3, II. 49, v. 23, VI. 70 and both VI. 16 and X. 10 on

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Alaṁkārasarvasva, Kavyamala 35. pp. 25, 114, 111-12 and 115 respectively), so, assuming the highest possible gap of time among the dates of composition of the above-mentioned three works, we are inclined to assign the date of composition of Maṅkha's poem to a date nearer to 1136 A.D. than to 1142 A.D.

Thirdly, in his article '*Śilahāras of Western India*' Mr. A. S. Alteker informs us that after the victory of Aparārka (Aparāditya-I) over Jayakeśin II, the Kādamba king, in 1126 A.D., the former began to establish his own diplomatic connections with other political powers (vide *Indian Culture* vol. II, pp. 412-413). We have already seen that between 1136 A.D. and 1142 A.D. Jayasiṁha established political relations with the kings of Kānyakubja etc. (Supra p. 7). We have also known that Aparāditya-I, sent his ambassador to the assembly held under Alaṅkāra, a minister of Jayasiṁha (Supra p. 5).

So, it is evident that Jayasiṁha made political alliance with Aparāditya-I, sometimes between 1136 A.D. and 1142 A.D. Again as Aparāditya-I began to establish his political relations with other kings from 1126 A.D., so it is likely that Jayasiṁha established his political relation with Aparāditya-I at his earliest opportunity, i.e. near about 1136 A.D. and that Aparāditya-I sent his ambassador to Jayasiṁha near about this date. These facts also help us to conclude that the date of composition of Maṅkha's poem lies nearer to 1136 A.D. than to 1142 A.D.

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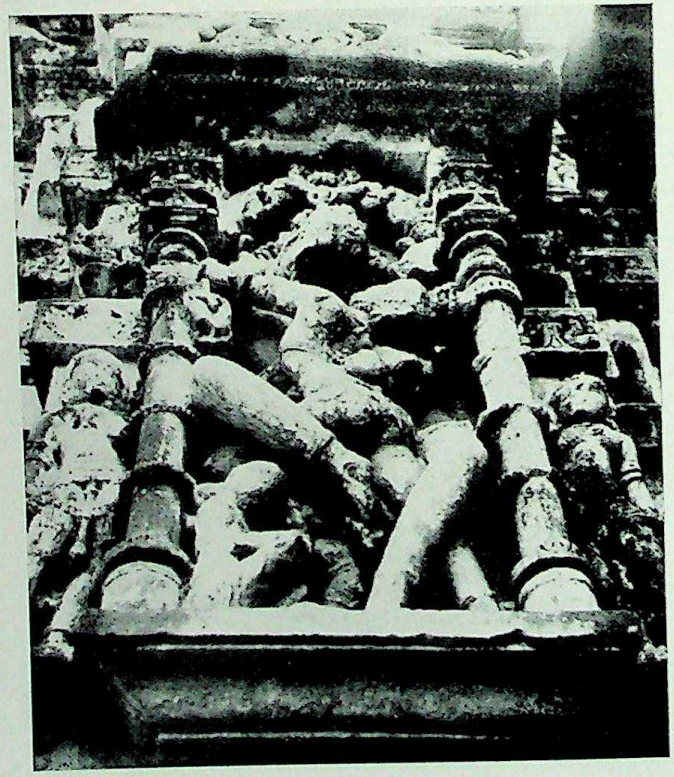

Fig. 1
Hiraṇyakaśipu combating with Narasiṁha
(Sat Saheli Mandir, Jalawar, Rājasthāna)

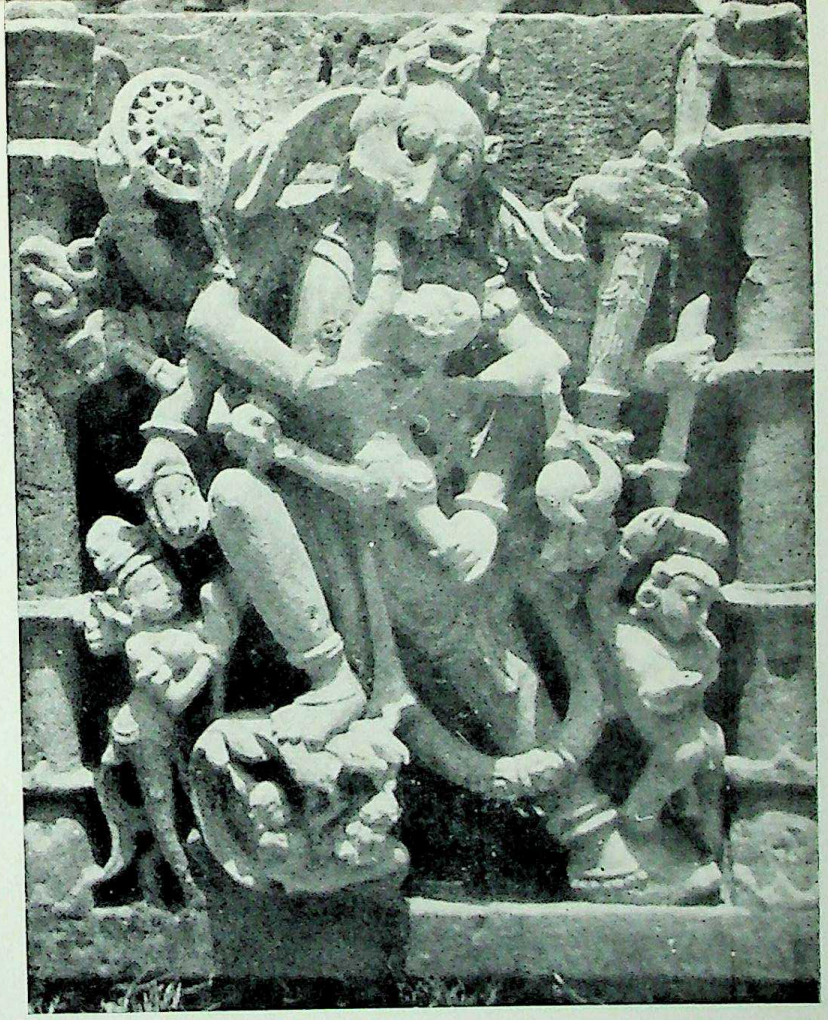

Fig. 2
Narasiṁha tearing Hiraṇyakaśipu
(Nīlakaṇṭha Temple, Rājasthāna)

[See Mrs. Neelima Vashistha's article published on p. 444]

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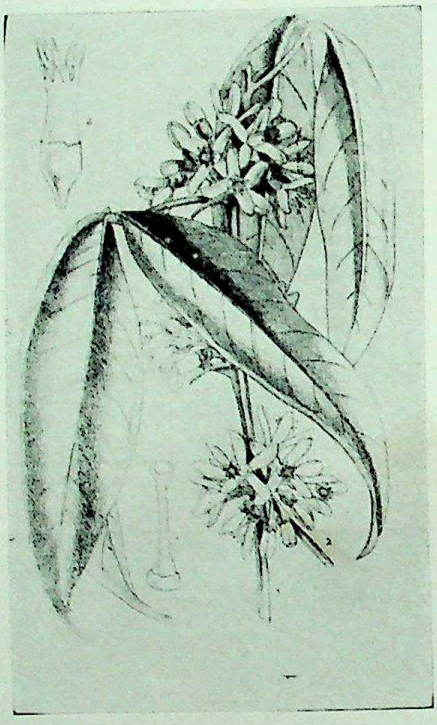

Luvunga Scandens Ham

[See Mr. P. V. Sarma's article published on p. 393]

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IDENTIFICATION OF LAVALĪ

By

P. V. SHARMA, Varanasi (U.P.)

The plant '*Lavalī*' is mentioned copiously in Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa has mentioned it along with *Lavaṅga*, *elā* etc. as mouth-refreshing or also as adjuvant to betel leaves.[1] The fruits were juicy and were commonly collected and stored in forest hermitage[2] evidently to be taken as drug, or mouth-refreshing agent. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamimāṁsā* has described it to be a plant growing in Eastern region[3] which blossoms in winter season.[4] But Bāṇa has not included in the list of substances presented by king of Kāmarūpa to Harṣa.[5] Moreover, Varāhamihira says it to be growing in coastal area in south west region along with *elā* and *lavaṅga*.[6] Now-a-days a substance called '*Harfārevaḍi*' (Cicca acida Linn. (Merrill) is taken as *Lavalī*. Its fruits are sour and are taken as acid-containing fruits like lemon, but it has no fragrance or bitterness which had been mentioned as its main characteristics.

In the *Caraka Saṃhitā* (Ca), *Lavalī* is only once seen in the context of *Phalavarga* (Su. 27) along with astringent fruits. Its fruit has been said as palatable, adjuvant to meal and *Vāta*-aggravating because of its properties-*Kaṣāya*, *Viśada* (Non-slimy) and of aromatic nature.[7] Similarly, in the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (Su.), it is mentioned only once in the same context but along with fruits growing on high altitude in Himalayan region like almond, walnut etc. The fruit of *Lavalī* is said as *Viśada*, *Kaṣāya*, *Kaphapittaghna*, slightly bitter, appetizer and palatable and of aromatic nature.[8] Vāgbhaṭa in his *Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha* (A.S.) repeated the same thing in abbreviated form[9] but surprisingly enough it is not at all found in *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (A.H.). Cakrapāṇi, the commentator on the *Caraka Saṁhitā* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* did not say anything about its identity except that *Lavalī* is commonly known *Lavalīprasiddhā* while commenting on the above passage of the latter text but in Cakradatta (56.54) he has used '*Lavalīkāphala*' with *elā* etc. Ḍallaṇa in his commentary on the *Suśrutā Saṁhitā* says that the fruit of *Lavalī* is of aromatic nature and commonly known. He has also quoted a verse possibly from some *Nighaṇṭu*[10] in which the root of the plant is said to be fragrant (and not the fruit).

In Mādhava's *Paryāyaratnamālā*, there is *Śyāmalam lavalīphalam* but it is doubtful because in one of the manuscripts the rendering is *Karīram marujam phalam*. If the former text is taken as authentic one it shows that the fruits of *Lavalī* are blackish. The word '*Lavalī*' is not found in the *Dhanwantari* and the *Rājanighaṇṭu*. In the *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu*, the entire verse regarding identification quoted by Ḍallaṇa is found and in addition *Lavalīphala* is said as

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'*Śyāma* and *Jyotsnāphala* and is *laghu*, *Vātapittahara*, haemostatic and useful in piles.'[11] In the *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*, the latter half of the verse quoted by Ḍallaṇa is read and in addition it is said that the fruits of *Lavalī* are sweet-acid and astringent in taste, *Rūkśa*, *Viśada* and *Guru*, *Kapha-pittahara* and beneficial in calculus and piles. In the *Śivakośa* (verse 474), *Lavalīphala* is said as *Śyāmala*. Further (in verse 488) it is also said as *Muktāphala* but as the text is reconstructed by the editor it cannot be taken as authentic one.

In kośas, *Lavaiī* is conspicuously absent. Only in the *Vaijayantī* I could trace it[12] in which its name is *Śyāmalaka*.

On the basis of above references, the following characteristics may be defined for *Lavalī* :—

1. It grows in Eastern as well as South-western region along with *Lavaṅga* and *elā*. It has got particular affinity with *Lavaṅga*.
2. Plant has got flowers white and fragrant blossoming in winter and fruit aromatic, astringent and slightly bitter in taste.
3. The fruits were used along with *Lavaṅga*, *elā*, *Kakkola* etc. with betel leaves or above as mouth refreshing agent.

The plant *Cicca acida* taken as *Lavalī* now-a-days has not got the above characteristics. It is grown almost everywhere in plains and is not specific to the South-west region. The fruits are not astringent and bitter but sour and have no aroma at all. The fruits are used as prickles and not as mouth-refreshing agent along with betel leaves. Hence this plant is definitely not the one which is intended by the ancient texts. It seems that after some time the *Lavalī*-fruits lost popularity and the connotation of the term was also lost with the result that the word *Lavlī* acquired altogether a new connotation of *Cicca acida*. The later authors taking this substance in view have given descriptions. The verse quoted by Ḍallaṇa probably denotes this plant. Bhāvamiśra also described the *Lavalī* fruits as sweet and acid which is clearly different from the ancient description and evidently denotes the plant *Cicca acida* (*Harfārewaḍi*).

Now let us discuss its real identity.

In the *Caraka* and the *Suśruta*, along with *Jātīphala* etc. *Kaṭuka phala* has been used[13]. *Kaṭuka* has been replaced by *Lavalīphala* in later literature. So one may be tempted to take *kaṭuka* as *lavalī*. Some scholars have interpreted '*Kaṭuka*' as *latākastūrī* or some as *Laghu Kakkolaka*.[14] It cannot be *Latākastūrī* as it has been described separately in texts (*Suśruta*, Su. 46.189 and 202). *Kakkola* is also separately mentioned in this verse and as such it is very improbable if this can be taken by *Kaṭuka*. Kaṭuka is *Kaṭuphala* in *Asṭāṅga Saṅgraha* (A.S.)[15] but this cannot be *Kaṭ-phala* (*Myrica nagi*) as well because it has been mentioned separately with Kaṭuka.[16] Above all, *Lavalīphala* has been described among edible fruits seperately from *Kaṭuka*.

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From the description given in ancient texts, there is very little probability of its being a member of the *Piperaceae* family. Moreover, the fruits of *piperaceae* are not edible. The word '*Latā*' used for *Lavalī* may be for delicate and handsome plant just as *Sahakāra Latā* etc. Rājaśekhara says that it grows in eastern region while Varāhamihira finds them on South-west sea coast. The fruits were also collected like Āmalakī fruits. It indicates that fruits are edible and according to description of *Suśruta* they should have astringent-bitter taste and some aroma. It is probable that the fruit was eaten and the seeds, like those of *Jātīphala* were used as mouth-refreshing agent. However, if *Lavalī* is taken as tree, the following propositions may be considered. It may also be noted beforehand that the usual concomittance of *Lavalī* and *Lavaṅga* in literature[17] shows that they belong to the same habitat. *Lavaṅga* is said to be native of Molucca island but it is cultivated extensively for trade in islands near Africa.[18] Some plantation has also been tried in Calcutta and South India. In this way, *Lavalī* also should belong to the same locality. Both Rājaśekhara and Varāhamihira are thus right in saying that *Lavalī* grows in East and South-west respectively. As we have seen above, *Lavaṅga* originally belongs to Molucca in the South-east while its cultivation and trade is concentrated in Souṭh-west. Let us consider the alternatives keeping this vital point in view :—

1. *Garcinia species* :

One may be inclined to identify *Lavalī* as some Garcinia species. The description given by Ḍallaṇa may also indicate the same. It is conspicuous that Amara Simha has mentioned *Tamāla*[19] but not *Lavalī* while Varāhamihira has mentioned *Lavalī* but not *Tamāla*. *Tamāla* is a well-known tree of the family Guttiferae botanically taken as *Garcinia morella*.[20] Because of its dark green leaves and good shade the plant is called as '*Śyāma*' or '*Nīladala*'. It has got pulpy fruits seeds inbedded in them. It is to be noted that *Lavalīphala* has been called as *Śyāmalaka* in lexicons. Along with fruits, the seeds were also collected and used. Likewise, it may be possible that *Lavalī*-fruits were used as edible ones and the seeds as mouth-refreshing substance. In ancient traditions, seeds are also denoted by the word '*Phala*' as in *Jātīphala*'. *Garcinia morella* grows in Eastern as well as South-western region. It also blossoms in winter.[21]

In the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, the word '*Tamāla*' is used only once in *Dṛḍhabalā's* portion.[22] Kālidāsa has used both *Lavalī* and '*Tamāla*'.[23]

By the word '*Tamāla*' two plants are taken : one *Cinnamomum tamāla* and the other *Garcinia morella*. It is very difficult to say which plant is meant by *Tamāla* in any context. In Kālidāsa, because there is reference of fragrant leaves[24], it would be preferable to take *cinnamomum* because its leaves are fragrant and those of *Garcinia* have no aroma. In Āyurveda also, *Tamālapatra* is taken as *Tejapatra*. In case, if the plant of *Tejapatra* is taken by *Tamāla*, *Lavalī* may easily denote *Garcinia morella*.

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2. *Eugenia or Syzygium species* :

It is one of the possibilities that *Lavalī* may be a fellow of the genus *Eugenia* or *syzygium* (family *Myrtaceae*) which *Lavaṅga* (*Syzygium aromaticum*) belongs to. In several species the flowers are astrigent and edible. [25] Particularly attention is drawn to *Eugenia malaccanensis Linn*, popularly known as Malaya apple or *Kavika* tree. George Watt (Dictionary of the economic products of India, Vol. III, p. 288-289) has given the following description of the plant :—

Eugenia malaccennsis :—Malaya Apple or the *Kavika* tree.

A handsome tree, with a refusion of either white or scarlet flowers, followed by an abundance of fruit of the size of a small apple.

Native of Malaya island and now cultivated in Bengal and Burma, the Malaya looks upon the *Kavika* tree as representing all that is lovely and beautiful. It was first brought out of Malacca into India, flower white or scarlet.

There are two sorts of this fruit—one a brown-red, seeming as though it was black, most part without stones and more savoury than the other which is a pale red or a pale purple colour with lovely smell of roses.

Produced at different periods of the year a large juicy fruit which is very commonly eaten though rather insipid (Roxb). The pulp of the fruit is said to be wholesome and agreeable,

Paludanus says :—' This fruit is ordinarily eaten before other meat be set upon table and also at all times of the day.'

3. *Myristica species* :

Jātīphala belongs to this genus (Family *Myristicaceae*). In the *Caraka* and the *Suśruta*, *Jātīphala* has been used as a member of betel accessories but in later literature it has been replaced by *Lavalīphala* for this purpose. But there is little chance of *Jātīphala* being as *Lavalīphala* also because both have been dealt with separately in one context (*Suśruta* Su. 46). The original *Jātīphala* tree (*Myristica fragrants Houtt*) is a native of Moluccas, the place of *Lavaṅga*, now cultivated in tropical countries. In India, it grows in Madras, Kerala and Assam.[26] There are other species which grow in these areas which blossom in winter and juicy ariel of which is eaten and kernel is used as substitute of arecanut [27] One of these species may be branded as *Lavalī*. *Lavalīphala* may be denoting the nut just like *Jātīphala* (*Nutmeg*).

4. *Prunus species* :

Elavālu is one of the aromatic substances identified as *Prunus cerasus*.[28] *Elavālu* is not found in works of Varāhamihira and Bāṇa, instead, *Lavalīphala* has been used extensively. It may be possible that *Lavalīphala* might have been given a special label of *Elavāluka* just as fruits of *Tejabalā* are called *Tumburu*. *Lavalīphala* is described in continuation of other prunus fruits which are edible [29]

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and the kernel of which has got special uses. Some handsome plant of *Prunus sp.* may be *Lavalī* with edible fruits and aromatic Kernel known as *Elavāluka*. Now-a-days Kernel of a *purnus* plant (P. Mahaleb) known as '*Gahulā*' is used as aromatic substance and is taken by Ayurvedic scholars as one of the substitutes of *Priyaṅgu*. *Lavalīphala*, though not included in *Gandhadravyas*, is mentioned as an adjuvant of betel like *Puga* (arecanut). Most of the *prunus* plants have juicy edible fruits with white scented flowers which blossom in winter.

5. *Luvaṅga species* :

Luvaṅga scandens is a native of Indomalaya region and is found in Assam and Khasi hills. It is a stout climber having white fragrant flowers, which blossom in February- April.

It tallies with the epithet 'अवदंशक्षम' mentioned by Caraka.
Fruit oblong, yellowish, resinous and odoriferous, seeds 1-3, ovoid. It is known as *Lavaṅgalatā* in Bengal and its dried fruits are sold in the market by the name of *Sugandhakokila*. It is also collected from Garhwal but its identity is doubtful. Another species, L. *eleutherandra* is found in Western India and from Konkan to Travancore.[31]

I am inclined to acceptt he last proposition on the following grounds :—

1. It is a climber (*Latā*) and *Lavalī* has been said as *Latā*. Other plants are trees.
2. Its habitat is similar to *Lavaṅga* as described by Rājaśekhara and Bāṇa and also confirmed by modern ecological observations.
3. In this way, it has got particular affinity with *Lavaṅga* that is why perhaps by leaving its original name it accepted the name denoting its affinity with *Lavaṅga* (*Lavaṅgalatā*). *Lavalī* may be a short form of *Lavaṅgavalli*.
4. It has got white fragrant flowers which blossom in winter. Fruit is also aromatic and resinous and is used as aromatic substance. This might have been used with betel in olden days.

The detailed description of the plant is as follows :—

Luvunga Scandens Ham.

A powerful scandent shrub, armed with axillary solitary strong sharp and more or less recurved thorns, all parts glabrous. Leaves 3-foliolate, long-petioled, glabrous ; leaflets lanceolate or oblong-inceolate, shortly petioluled, more or less acuminate, entire, coriaceous, 7.5-25 cms. long. Flowers conspicuous, white, shortly pedicelled, forming glabrous cymose racemes in the axils of the leaves and above the scares of united into a longer or shorter tube. Berries oval, obscurely 3-lobed, the size of a pigeon's egg, rather smooth, 1-3-seeded, glabrous.

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Distribution : Eastern Bengal, Assam, Khasia Hills, Chittagong, Burma, Malaya Peninsula-Cambodia, Sumatra.[32]

Conclusion :

The original *Lavalīlatā* may be *Luvaṅga scendens* and not *Cicca acida.*

References

1 ताम्बूलिकभवनमिव कृतलवलीलवंगेलाककोलपत्रसंश्रयम्
—*Kādambarī*, p. 279; Chowkhamba, Varanasi (2nd edition, 1966)

2 उपसंगृहीतामलक...लवली...तालफलम्—
—Ibid., p. 119

3 तत्र वाराणस्याः पुरतः पूर्वदेशः । यत्र...लवलीग्रन्थिवर्णकागुरु द्राक्षाकस्तूरिकादीनामुत्पादः
—*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Ch. 17; p. 278, Chowkhamba, Varanasi (2nd ed., 1959)

4 दिवत्रिमुचुकुन्दकलिकस्त्रिचतुरमुकुलः क्रमेण लवलीषु ।
यश्चषफलिनीकुसुमो जयति हिमर्तुर्नवावतरः ॥
—Ibid., Ch. 18; p. 307 (Above edition)
Vāgbhaṭa in his *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (Sū. 4.9) has also mentioned this fact in the context of Hemanta Ṛtucaryā as—
'रोध्रप्रियङ्गुपुन्नागलवल्यः कुसुमोज्ज्वलाः'

5 *Harṣacarita*, p. 387; Chowkhamba, Varanasi (2nd ed., 1964)

6 सूक्ष्मैलालवलीलवंगनिचयान् व्याघूर्णयन् सागरे-
—*Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, Ch. 27.4
This is in context of the wind coming from Nairṛtya Koṇa.

7 कषायविशदत्वाच्च सौगन्ध्याच्च रुचिप्रदम् । अवदंशक्षमं हृदयं वातलं लवलीफलम् ॥
Ca. Sū. 27. 144

8 कषायं कफपित्तघ्नं किंचित्तिक्तं रुचिप्रदम् । हृद्यं सुगंधि विशदं लवलीफलमुच्यते ॥
Su.—Sū. 46.189

9 कषायं रोचनं हृद्यं वातलं लवलीफलम्—
A.S. Sū. 7.191

10 तल्लक्षणमुच्यते–घनःस्निग्धा हरितांशु प्रपुन्नाटसदृक्च्छदा । सुगन्धिमूला लवली पाण्डुकोमलवल्कला ।
—Ḍallaṇa's Com. Su. Sū. 46.109

11 लवल्याः फलमुद्दिष्टं श्यामं ज्योत्स्नाफलं तथा । लवलीफलमस्रार्शो वातपित्तहरं लघु ॥
—Phalavarga, p. 94, *Madanavinoda*, Tryambaka Shastri, Benares (3rd ed., 1932)

12 अथ श्यामलके लाला लवली लावली फला ॥
—*Vaijayantī Kośa*, 3.3.26

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13 धार्याण्यास्येन वैशद्यरुचिसौगन्ध्यमिच्छता । जातीकटुकपूगानां लवङ्गस्य फलानि च ॥
कक्कोलस्य फलं पत्रं ताम्बूलस्य शुभं तथा । तथा कर्पूरनिर्यासः सूक्ष्मैलायाः फलानि च ॥
—Ca. Sū. 5.76-77

Also see *Suśruta*, Sū. 46.64

14 Commentary of Cakrapāṇi and Ḍallaṇa on the above passages.
' कटुकं लताकस्तूरी '–चक्रः
Ca. Sū. 5.76-77
' कटुकाफलं लताकस्तूरिकेति पञ्जिकाकारो, श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु लघुकक्कोलकमाह,
कक्कोलकं बृहत्कक्कोलकम् – डल्हण
—Su., Sū. 46.64

15 जातिपत्री कटुफलं कक्कोलकलवङ्गकम्—
A.S.,—Sū. 12.48

16 कृत्वा कुर्यात् कटभोकटुककट्फलधमनं च
—Ca. Ci. 23.66

17 *Harṣacarita*, p. 112; *Kādambarī*, pp. 279; 382 (Above edition)
P. V. Sharma; *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age*, p. 195., Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1972
Bhavabhūti in his works utilised Lavaṅga and Lavalī as hero and heroine whereas Kālidāsa has used Sahakāra and Mādhava for this. The following reference is worth seeing :—
अभिनवरागरसोऽयं भवतोः कृतकौतुकः परिष्वंगः । लवलीलवंगयोरिव नियतिमहावाल्ययाभिहतः–
—*Mālatīmādhava* 10.3

18 George Watt : *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. II, p. 202

19 *Amarakośa*, 2.4.60

20 B. Singh and K. C. Chunekar : *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Bṛhattrayī*, p. 175

21 T. Cooke : *Flora of Bombay*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83,
Kanjilal & Das : *Flora of Assam*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 106-110

22 *Caraka*, Kalpa 1.8

23 *Raghu* 13.49; *Vikramorvaśīya*. Act. 5., Verse 8, p. 203, Kalidāsagranthāvalī, Aligarh (3rd. ed., 1961)

24 अयं सुजातोऽनुगिरं तमालः प्रवालमादाय सुगंधि यस्य ।
—*Raghu* 13.49

25 Kanjilal & Das : *Flora of Assam*, Vol. II, pp. 262-284

26 *Wealth of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 473-480

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27 Kanjilal & Das : *Flora of Assam*, Vol. IV, pp. 41-46

28 B. Singh & K. C. Chunekar : *Ibid.*, p. 58

29 वातामाक्षोडाभिषुकनिचुलपिचुनिकोचकोरुमाणप्रभृतीनि प्रभृतिग्रहणाल्लवलीफलानि
—Ḍallaṇa. on Su. Sū. 46.187

30 Kanjilal & Das : *Flora of Assam*, Vol. II, pp. 178-183

31 *Wealth of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 185-186
K. P. Biswas : *Bhāratīya Vanauṣadhi*, p. 92

32 Kirtikar & Basu : *Indian Medicinal Plants*, Vol. I, pp. 479-480

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A PORTRAIT OF LIFE IN INDIA AS DRAWN FROM THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

By
VINEY KUMAR, Jaipur

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (a Greek title rendered into English as Guide-Book to the Erythraean Sea by W. H. Schoff[1]) was written in the first century A.D. by an anonymous Greek. The Erythraean Sea incidentally was the term applied by Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian ocean, including its adjuncts, the Red Sea and the Persian gulf. It is primarily a geo-mercantile account, describing mainly the location of different ports on the Erythraean Sea and trade, conducted through them. However, by piecing together the relevant references in connection with different Indian ports, both sea ports and inland ports, we can attempt to draw a portrait of life in India in the first century A.D.

Like the Indika of Ktesias[2], the Periplus seems to convey the erroneous impression that ancient Indians were a tribal people. It says that the country inland from Barygaza (Broach) is inhabited by numerous tribes such as the Aratti, the Arachosii, the Gandaraei and the Pocalais.[3] W. H. Schoff has identified these four tribes with the peoples of the Punjab, Kandahāra, Gandhāra and Puṣkalāvatī respectively.[3A] Surprisingly enough, the Periplus does not refer to the Indian castes, a peculiar feature of ancient Indian society and the very basis of ancient Indian social organisation.

The Periplus mentions names of only three kings with reference to India. They are Nambanus[4] elder Saraganus[5] and Sandares.[6] Nambanus is called the ruler of Syrastrene.[7] W. H. Schoff identifies Nambanus with the Śaka ruler Nahapāna and Syrastrene with Saurāṣhtra.[8] But this identification cannot be accepted as final. We get two inscriptions of Nahapāna, dated in the 41st and

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1 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*' (Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi 1974) p. 50.

2 Ibid.

2A Dr. Viney Kumar : '*Social Life in Ancient India as described by Ktesias*' *Rhythm of History.* (P. G. Correspondence Studies, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur), Vol. I, 1974.

3 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*' p. 41.

3A Op. Cit., pp. 183-84.

4 Op. Cit., p. 39.

5 Op. Cit., p. 43.

6 Ibid.

7 Op. Cit., p. 39.

8 Op. Cit., pp. 197-200.

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46th years of an unknown era.[9] If they belong to the Śaka era of 78 A.D., the two known dates of Nahapāna will be 119 A.D. (78 + 41) and 124 A.D. (78 + 46). On the other hand the most probable date of the Periplus is 60 A.D., as determined by W. H. Schoff on the basis of available evidence.[10] A ruler cannot be normally expected to rule for 64 years from 60 A.D. to 124 A.D. So we cannot say for certain that Nambanus is Nahapāna. He might have been some other king, not known to us from other sources. In fact, Fabricius in his German edition of the Periplus identifies Nambanus with Sanabares, whom he supposes to have been a successor of Gondophares or Gondophernese, the great Indo-Parthian king of north-western India.[10A] Since the last known date of Gondophernese is 45 A.D.,[11] it is not impossible that a successor of his was ruling in Saurāṣtra around 60 A.D. Elder Saraganus is generally identified with Śātakarṇi I, the great Sātavāhana monarch.[11A] He seems to have flourished before 60 A.D., because the Periplus says that Calliena (Kalyāṇa) became a lawful market-town in his time.[12] Sandares might have been Sunder Śātakarṇi who was one of the successors of Śātakarṇi I according to the Purāṇas.[13] The author of the Periplus found the port at Callienna (Kalyāṇa), which was a lawful market-town in times of elder Saraganus, much obstructed in times of Sandares, and as he observes, the Greek ships could proceed via this port to Barygaza (Broach) only under heavy guard.[14] This shows that Sandares or Sundar Śātakarṇi was a weak ruler who could not maintain law and order in his dominions, with the result that foreign ships could no longer be sure of safe anchorage at Kalyāṇa. We can infer from the above evidence, furnished by the Periplus, that around 60 A.D., Sātavāhana dominions on the western coast had fallen into the hands of weak rulers of that dynasty, under whose incompetent rule life had become insecure, more particularly for the foreign traders.

According to the Periplus, there were flourishing sea ports like Barygaza[15] (Broach), Calliena[16] (Kalyāṇa) and Suppara[17] (Sopārā) on the western coast and Sopatma[18] (Madras) and Masalia[19] (Masulipatam) on the eastern coast. There were also some prosperous inland trade centres like Paithan[20] (Pratiṣṭhāna), Tagara[21] and Ozene[22] (Ujjain), connected with the ports. Indian merchants

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9 Tripathi R. S. : '*History of Ancient India*', p. 216.
10 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 15.
10A As quoted by W. H. Schoff : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 200.
11 Tripathi R. S. : '*History of Ancient India*', p. 220.
11A Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 198.
12 Op. Cit., p, 43.
13 Op. Cit., p. 198
14 Op. Cit., p. 43.
15 Op. Cit., p. 39.
16 Op. Cit., p. 43.
17 Ibid.
18 Op. Cit., p. 46.
19 Op. Cit., p 47.
20 Op. Cit., p. 43.
21 Ibid.
22 Op. Cit., p. 42.

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conducted a flourishing trade through these ports with Egypt, Italy and Greece. Main items of export were sesame oil[23], honey produced from a kind of reed[24], cloth made from animal skins,[25], cotton,[26], silk[27] and muslin,[28] spices like pepper,[29] cardimom,,[30] cinnamon and cloves[31] and precious stones such as diamonds[32] sapphires[33] and pearls.[34] Italian wine,[35], copper,[36], tin,[37] lead,[38] glass[39] and medicinal ointments[40] were the chief imports.

The Periplus states that Roman gold coins were exchanged at a profit with Indian gold coins in India.[41] This would suggest that Rome enjoyed a favourable balance of trade with India (i.e. Indian gold was being drained into Rome causing a dearth of gold in India). But Pliny, the great Roman historian and a contemporary of the author of the Periplus (both belonging to the first century A.D.) in fact, deplores the drain of Roman gold to India in exchange for luxury goods.[42] It means that actually India enjoyed a favourable balance of trade with Rome and that gold was not in short supply in this country. In the light of Pliny's lament about the flow of Roman gold to India, we cannot accept the statement of the Periplus that Roman gold coins were exchanged with Indian gold coins at a profit. Moreover, the well-known phenomenal economic prosperity of India in the early centuries of the Christian era could have resulted essentially from a favourable balance of trade, which is an important pre-requisite of a thriving economy.

According to the Periplus, Barygaza (Broach) produced wheat, rice, butter, sesame oil and honey extracted from a kind of reed in plenty.[43] It would show that these food articles formed a part of Indian dietary. Wheat (godhūma)[44] and rice (vrīhi)[45] were quite common in India from early times. The reference to butter[46] presupposes milk,[47] ghee[48] and curds[49] and indeed all these are

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23 Op. Cit., p. 27.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Op. Cit., p. 42.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 Op. Cit., p. 45.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Op. Cit., p. 42.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Pliny : '*Historiae Naturalis* (*Natural History*)', VI. 26.
43 Schoff W. H. : '*The Perplus of the Erythraean Sea*', pp. 27 & 39.
44 *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, XVIII. 12.
45 Op. Cit.
46 Dadhanvata (butter) *Ṛgveda*, I. 164.7; navanīta (butter) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 3.3.2.
47 Kṣīra (milk) *Ṛgveda*, I. 164.7.
48 Ghṛta (ghee) *Ṛgveda*, X. 29.6.
49 Dadhi (curds) *Ṛgveda*, I. 5.5.

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mentioned in early Sanskrit texts. What the Periplus calls 'honey extracted from a kind of reed', must have been sugar produced from sugarcane juice, called śarkarā, as mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa[50] and the Suśruta Saṁhitā.[51] The westerners were most probably ignorant of sugar-cane cultivation at that time. Aelian also speaks of reeds from which the 'barbarians across the Indus' obtained all the honey they needed.[52] That is why the author of the Periplus uses the expression 'honey extracted from a kind of reed : Sesame oil (tila-taila) was in use even as early as the Vedic times.[53] Strabo and Megasthenese also state that sesame oil was produced in such a large quantity in India that it was profitably exported to the west.[54] But there is no mention of mustard oil (sarṣapa-taila) in the Periplus, which is referred to as a popular edible oil in early Sanskrit texts.[55]

As we learn from the Periplus,[56] India exported large quantities of spices like pepper, cinnamon and cardamom. The use of pepper (pippalī), cinnamon (dārugandha) and cardamom (elā) for adding flavour to different food preparations is known to us from early Sanskrit literature.[57]

However, the author of the Periplus does not seem to have noticed the different fruits, vegetables and sweets, which formed an important part of ancient Indian dietary, and in any case he has not written about them. Fruits like mango (āmra) and rose apple (jambū) were known to Indians from Vedic times.[57A] Greek writers like Strabo also speak of fruits like figs, grapes, banana and oranges as the favourite fruits of Indians.[58] Vegetables such as the lotus roots (bisa) and bottle gourd (alābu) were known even to Vedic Indians.[59] Apūpa[60] (cakes of flour, fried in oil), modaka[61] (sweet balls of wheat or gram flour) and ghṛtapūra[62] (cakes, prepared with fine wheat flour, mixed with milk and fried in ghee and then coated with sugar) were some of the sweets, known to Indians since early times.

The Periplus does not refer to meat-eating in India, But non-vegetarianism was practised even in Vedic society.[63] Preparations like meat-rice were the

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50 *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, 91.73.
51 *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, 45.159.
52 McCrindle J. W. : '*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*', p. 127.
53 *Atharvaveda*, XX. 136.16.
54 McCrindle J. W. : '*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*'. p. 127.
55 *Chāndogya Upanishad*, III. 14.3.
56 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 44.
57 *Atharvaveda*, VI. 109. 57A *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 7.1.41.
58 McCrindle J. W. : '*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*', p. 120.
59 *Ṛgveda*, VI. 61.2.
60 *Rāmāyaṇa Bāla Kāṇḍa*, 10. 19-20.
61 Op. Cit.
62 *Vāyu Purāna*, 80.47.
63 Om Prakash : '*Food and Drinks in Ancient India*', p. 15.

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delicacies of the elite.[64] Even Greek writers like Arrian note the fact that a majority of Indians, especially those living in the hills, are meat-eaters.[65]

The author of the Periplus states that Italian wines were popular in Barygaza (Broach) and other places.[65A] But he betrays ignorance of indigenous Indian wines like surā[66] (made from fermented barley), pariśruta[67] (made from fermented flowers) and māsara[68] (made from fermented rice) which were equally popular. Classical writers[69] speak of a kind of wine, prepared from the fermented juice of the palm-fruit, as a popular drink in India.

We find cloth made from cotton,[70] silk,[71] muslin[72] and animal-skins[73] among the articles of export at Barygaza (Broach), as mentioned in the Periplus. Early Indian Sanskrit texts also refer to beautiful garments, made from deer-skin (mṛgacharma),[74] muslin (sūkṣma vastra)[75] and silk (kīṭaja paṭṭa).[75A] Cotton fabrics were in vogue in India even as early as the Indus Valley Civilization,[76] and as we know, Herodotus also writes about cotton-clad Indian mercenary soldiers, who had fought for the Persian emperor Xerxes against the Greeks.[77]

Among exports from Indian ports, the Periplus mentions pearls,[78] diamonds[79] and sapphires,[80] which suggests that precious stones and possibly ornaments made from them were popular in India. In fact, the use of ornaments made from gold and silver and various precious stones in India dates back to even as early as the Indus Valley period.[81] Early Sanskrit texts also speak of them frequently.[82]

The Periplus has almost next to nothing to say about means of recreation in Indian society, except for a reference to the import of singing boys who

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64 *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇda*, 52.89.
65 McCrindle J. W. : '*Ancient India as described by Megasthenese and Arrian*', p. 99.
65A Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 42.
66 *Ṛgveda*, VIII. 2.12.
67 *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, XIX. 15.
68 Op. Cit., XIX. 14.
69 McCrindle J. W. : '*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*', p. 126.
70 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 24.
71 Op. Cit., p. 45.
72 Op. Cit., p. 47.
73 Op. Cit., p. 24.
74 *Mahābhārata, Sabhā parva*, 51.27.
75 Op. Cit., 52.34.
75A Op. Cit., 51.26.
76 Tripathi R. S. : '*History of Ancient India*', p. 21.
77 Op. Cit., p. 116.
78 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 45.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Tripathi R. S. : '*History of Ancient India*', p. 19.
82 *Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva*, 51.7.

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performed at the court of Nambanus.[83] It is somewhat surprising that the author of the Periplus, who seems to have navigated the entire length of the Indian sea coast, missed to write about a typical coastal game, called 'alavanāṭ-ṭal (i.e. playing with crabs) which was very popular all along the western coast of India since early times.[84]

As regards religion in India, the text makes only an oblique reference to Goddess Pārvatī. It says that men and women, seeking to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, bathe in the sea at a place called 'Comari,' where once a Goddess is believed to have dwelt and bathed.[85] W. H. Schoff rightly identifies Comari with Cape Comorin and says that the place is so named in memory of Kumārī, which was the epithet of Goddess Pārvatī, who is believed to have lived here for some time.[86] But the author of the Periplus does not refer to other Hindu Gods and Goddesses or Buddhism and Jainism.

It is no easy matter to draw a picture of life in ancient India on the basis of the Periplus, as is evident from the above study. During his stay at different Indian sea ports the author of the Periplus must have observed at least the more obvious of the features of Indian polity, society, religion and culture in general. But he did not bother to write about them and we cannot blame him for this, because it was not his objective to study life in India as such. As an ardent oceanographer and merchant navigator, naturally he confined his attention to the Indian sea coast, the harbours on it and the articles of export and import which passed through them. In fact, we should be actually grateful to him for small mercies in the form of references here and there, which have a socio-cultural or political purport. Moreover, the articles of export and import, as described by him, at least give us some idea of food and drinks, sartorial fashions and types of ornaments used. And when we supplement it all with relevant references in ancient Indian literature, the portrait of life in ancient India does not remain altogether sketchy.

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83 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*', p. 42.
84 *Pattinapalai*, Verse III.
85 Schoff W. H. : '*The Periplus of the Erythraeau Sea*', p. 46.
86 Op. Cit., p. 235.

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THE ART OF WAR IN INDIA—A SURVEY OF FOREIGN IMPACT

By

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The Indian history is marked by continual foreign invasions and immigrations. The Achaemenids were the first to invade India and occupy its territories. They were followed by the Macedonians. After the Mauryan interlude the invasions became more frequent. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians, the Kuśāṇas, the Ābhīras and after some time the Sassanids and the Hunas occupied large territories and exercised great political influence in the country. Some of these people continued to be a factor of consequence in the political life of the country much after the establishment of the Gupta dynasty.

The foreigners owed their victories in India to their military might—a combination of superior weapons, strategy and tactics. There is reason to believe that even after settling in India the new comers continued their own system of war, a system which had proved rewarding against the natives. Indians on their part may have learnt lessons out of their defeat. Indeed owing to the foreigners or their impact, the military system of India may have undergone considerable changes. A general survey of the subject would substantiate the observation in sufficient measure.

On the organisational side the emergence of Kṣatrapal system, originally a Persian institution, was of far reaching consequence. It added a feudal element in the military apparatus of India. The Scytho-Kuśāṇas appointed their generals as Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣtrapas with commitment to render military service and tribute to central authority. The office gradually became hereditary and powerful. The weakening of the central power gave the provincial Kṣatrapas opportunity to improve their position and assert independence. This system of military organisation was imbued with disastrous potentialities as it encouraged centrifugal tendencies detrimental to the concept of a unified central government. The Mauryans had no such institution.

With the foreign invasions a new concept of war, what may be termed as the strategy of annihilation, was introduced. This was quite a natural development because the foreigners had to be ruthless in asserting their authority. With the foreigners who were mostly nomads it could be more so. By one or the other mean they had to find a place in the social order of the adopted land. Literature of the age describes the depredation of the foreign invaders and its ruinous consequences for the established social set-up.[1] A Kuśāṇa Kṣatrapa of Benaras

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1 चतुर्भागं तु शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणीनाम् ।
शकाः शेषं हरिष्यन्ति चतुर्भागस्त्रकं पुरम् ॥

GS Yuga Pu. 56-57 in *JBORS*, Vol. 16.

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made " the population practically Brāhmaṇaless. He depressed high class Hindus and raised low caste men and foreigners to high position. The same policy was followed by later Kuśāṇas, a policy of social tyranny and religious fanaticism both actuated by political motives.....These Mleccha rulers felt the ignominy which the Brahmaṇical system of society automatically, imposed upon them and they tried various means to destroy that social system which excluded them."[1] Sakala identified with modern Sialkot in Panjab, was depleted of Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas and the intellectuals for years.[2] Needless to say that Sakala remained under foreign occupation for a long period.

The foreign invasions contributed to the growth of a war god generally known as Skanda or Kārttikeya. " The continued rule of foreign hordes on the soil of India naturally led to the rise of national feeling which ultimately gave rise to new sect of the Kārttikeyas or the worshippers of god Skanda-Kārttikeya."[3] But the nomads who had themselves a god of war during their sojourn in central Asia soon found in Skanda their favourite deity. Naturally " the popularity of the deity vastly increased during the early Christian period. The Kuśāṇas who were a martial race found in him their ideal god.[5] " Some attributes of this deity such as Kukkuṭa or cock, heavy spear, *chlamys*, etc., met in the art and literature, also suggest some amount of foreign contribution in the evolution of this god.

The impact was, however, more deeply felt on weapons, equipment and consequently the strategy of war in general. The noblest feature of the military system of the age was the appearance of mounted bowman on the Indian battle-field.[6] Of all the people in the world Scythians were the first to give this arm the highest honour. Superior cavalry with superb bowmanship brought them easy victories. In fact, the Scythians owed much of their success in hunting and in battle to the superb skill with which they handled their mounts.[7] The Gārgī Saṁhitā while describing the depredations of a Scythian named Amlāṭa refers to bow as his principal weapon.[8] The occurrence of many Scythian and Parthian

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also

तत्र वर्णास्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति ।
वर्णाधोवस्थितान् सर्वान् कृत्वा पुर्यामवस्थितान् ॥

Ibid., 63-64.

2 Jayaswal, K. P.—*An Imperial History of India*, pp., 41-44.

3 *Milindapanho* 1.1.4.

4 Chattopadhyaya, S.—*The Evolution of Theistic Sects in Ancient India*, p., 65.

5 Chatterjee, A. K.—*The Cult of Skanda Karttikeya*, p., 32.

6 According to McGovern (*Early Empires of Central Asia*, p. 2), the wild horse was first domesticated in the steeps of central Asia. It was from this region that the horse culture—the use of horse for driving and later for riding—gradually spread to other parts of the world. Also see Rice, T. T.—*The Scythians*, pp., 69-70.

7 Rice, T. T.—*The Scythians*, p., 74.

8 ततोऽम्लाटो धनुर्मूलो भविष्यति महाबलः । *Yuga* Pu. 58,

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Kṣatrapas on their coins as mounted archers[9] suggests the trust these people reposed on the horse. Guptas following the Kuśāṇas adopted this technique of war [10] and probably used it with success against the Scythian Kṣatrapas of western India. However, the Indians soon discarded this novelty in favour of conventional immobile methods of war. Indeed disastrous consequences followed when it came to fighting the Turks.

This remarkable shift in the technique of war relegated the chariot heretofore the most important arm to a secondary position. It had survived the shock of Jhelum but could not withstand the humiliation inflicted by the nomadic horseman. Naturally, during the period following these invasions the chariot does not appear playing any significant part in the wars of India.[11] Gupta kings often figure on their coins as horsemen rather than charioteers. If the numismatic sources are any guide then the elephant also seems to have suffered in reputation as an effective weapon of war. The chariot, however, continued to be played up in art and literature much beyond the period of its utility. The reasons for the decline of chariot are not far to seek :—

(1) The utility of chariot as an effective weapon was limited to conventional wars based on pre-conceived notions.

(2) It proved ineffective before the new technique of mobile warfare in which manoeuverings were basic to skirmishes. The mobile nomadic cavalry just made it redundant.

(3) The strategy of annihilation introduced by the foreigners discouraged the use of this luxury weapon. The fall of the charioteer made the whole paraphernalia useless for the purpose of war.

(4) The chariot made the concept of a surprise attack and tactical withdrawal impossible. It did not suit the new war strategy introduced by the foreigners. The defenders had to make adjustments according to the nature of attacking force.

With the foreign invasions many new weapons came into vogue on the Indian battle-field. The principal of these was a small bow, a concomitant of the mounted archer. Indians fought the battle of Jhelum with a large bow of

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9 Gardner, P.—*Catalogue of Coins of the Greeks and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, in the British Museum, Pls. XX. 2, XIX. 4.

10 This is obvious from their coin types.

11 Russell Robinson, H.—*Oriental Armour*, p. 91. It states that chariot was not very much used in war after the commencement of the Christian era. According to Wilson "As with the Greeks so with the Hindus the horse came to supersede the chariot. There is no mention of the latter in the accounts given by Mohammedan writers of their first engagement with the Hindus. Its use is characteristic of antiquity, and its exchange for the horse may not improbably be ascribed in some degree to the infusion of Scythian tribes and manners from the west about the commencement of our era." Works by Wilson, H. H., Vol. IV, p. 297.

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the size of man[12] and continued its use for some more time.[13] It could not, however, match the requirement of the changed mode of war and was, therefore, discarded. In the art of Sanchi, the frequent appearance of a small bow can rightly be ascribed to the Scytho-Kuśāṇas.[14] Interestingly, the bow figuring on the Gupta coins resembles the Sarmatian and the Hūṇa weapon.[15] In fact "the Hūṇas" striking success in overcoming neighbouring people including the Sacians and the Massagetae, were probably due to the use of the new extremely efficient Hunnic type of bow. It was larger than the Scythic type hitherto wide spread among the Steppe people and was made of several pieces of different kinds of wood strengthened by bone inlays.[16]" The Scytho-Kuśāṇas of India were intimately related during their sojourn in central Asia with these people. The Guptas were indeed the borrowers.

The archaeological discoveries of arrow-heads also confirm this. "Without exception all the arrow-heads found at Taxila were intended for shafts made of reeds....since the reed arrow was in general use among the Iranians and central Asians as well as Indian people it is reasonable to infer that these 'double tanged' heads as we may call them were an adoptation of western socketed type rather than an eastern one and this being so, it seems not improbable that they were introduced at Taxila by the Bactrian Greeks[17]". Around the beginning of the Christian era two new types namely conical and three bladed types made appearance. The latter seems to have been specially favoured by the Śakas to whom its introduction at Taxila was no doubt due. This has been found along with a four bladed type at Dharmarajikā and other monastries destroyed by the white Hūṇas in 5th century A.D. Probably the four bladed weapon was used by the attacking Hūṇas and the three bladed one which had been introduced by the Scythians by the defenders.[18]

Kauśambī has also yielded some arrowheads namely double tanged, three bladed or barbed bladed. These are in sharp contrast to other types discovered there. Their intrusive character is also borne out by the absence of such prototypes at Kauśāmbī or else in the Gangetic valley. "Their distinctive nature, their close analogy with those from Taxila and sudden appearance at Kauśāmbī

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12 Arrian—XVI. M'Crindle—*Ancient India as described by Magasthense and Arrian*, p., 219.

13 Bhārhūt and Sāncī furnish such specimens.

14 The Scythians used a double curved bow made of horn and strung with sinews both for hunting and warfare. Their arrows had trefoil shaped heads....Bows and arrows were carried in a combined case known as gorytus which was worn slung from the belt at the left hip. Rice, T.T.—*The Scythians*, p., 75.

15 Sulimirsky, T.—*The Sarmatians*, fig. 4, p. 28. Such bows are met at Taxia as well. See Ghurye, G. S.—*Indian Costume*, fig., 49.

16 Sulimirsky, T.—op. cit., p., 114.

17 Marshall, J.—*Taxila*, p., 547.

18 Ibid., p., 548.

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clearly indicate that these were introduced there by the invaders from the north-west region. The Bactrian Greeks, the Śaka-Parthians and the Hūṇas, to whom Marshall ascribed these three types, are also indicated by evidence of strategraphy at Kauśāmbī.[19]"

As a result of foreign contacts some new sword types also came into vogue. These were long, double-edged and straight. Such swords are often met with the persons of foreign origin,[20] Kaniṣka from Mathurā is equipped with a similar weapon. The Massagetan-Sacian burials of the 6th-5th centuries B.C. from the lower Syr-Daria[21] also furnish such specimens. The iron swords met at Taxila are also similar to the Mathurā type.[22] Incidentally, the swords in vogue in 4th century B.C. India were of an entirely different pattern.[23] There was also a small sword type of foreign importation. It resembled the Roman gladius and is frequently met in the early art of Bhārhūt and Sāncī as well as the Gāndhāra reliefs.[24]

The incidence of some heavy javelin types with three or four flanged heads at Taxila is also remarkable in this context. "There seems little doubt that these metal javelins were a foreign weapon introduced either by the Bactrian Greeks or more probably by the Śakas or Parthians.[25] Such representations are abounding in the art of Kuśāṇas.[26] According to Rosenfield "A giant spear as a war implement was a prominent part of the armament and symbolism of the Indo-Śakas. This in itself involves basic issues of military tactics and larger cultural orientation.[27]"

Some new developments also appear in the equipment of soldiery as it is very much related with the way of life and fighting of a people. To illustrate, the use of armour on the Indian battle-field was a result of foreign contact. The Greeks had not seen Indian soldiers clad in armour in 4th century B.C. The early art of India does not represent soldiers equipped with it.[28] In fact the earliest evidence of armour in Indian art is met in association with foreign soldiers.[29] In Taxila there is evidence of the use of armour for elephants and

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19 Sharma, G. R.—*Kauśāmbī*, p. 46.

20 Rosenfield, J. M.—*Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, Figs. 2a, 5g; Coins Nos. 205, 217, 218, 241. Also Cunningham—*The Stupa of Bhārhūt*, Pl., 32.

21 Sulimirski, T.—*The Sarmatians*, Fig. 17.

22 Marshall, J.—*Taxila*, p. 545. Also p. 18; also see Rawson, *The Indian sword* pp. 6-7

23 These were broad, of 3 cubits length and wielded with both hands. Arrian, Frag. 16.

24 Marshall, J.—*Taxila*, p. 545.

25 Ibid. p. 546.

26 Foucher, A. L.—*Art Greco Buddhique Du Gāndhāra*, Figs. 31, 149, 181, 280, 288, etc.

27 Rosenfield, J. M.—op. cit., p. 55.

28 Russell (*Oriental Armour*, p., 89) has rightly said that "as far as we can judge, the Indians were without defensive armour except the shield which for many centuries is the only protection shown in Hindu sculptures."

29 Foucher, A—op. cit., Figs. 202, 204, 292; also Russell, R.—*Oriental Armours* p., 89.

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camels as well.[30] "Helmets and plate armour for men and horses and elephants were certainly foreign importation as such defensive armour was quite unknown in early India.[31]" The people who were instrumental in introducing this device are not deflnitely known. The steppe people best known for heavy armour were the Sarmatians.[32] The Scythians and the Kuśaṇas had been their neighbours for quite some time and probably brought in this trait into India. In this connection it is of unusual interest that the Mahābhārata relates the use of armour with the foreigners like the Śakas and the Kambojas.[33]

The costume of the soldiers also underwent a change. The loose upper garment or *Uttarīya* worn by the Indian soldiers in the battle of Jhelum[34] was replaced by a Kurpasa or *Kañcuka* about the beginning of the Christian era is borne out by the early art of Bhārhūt and Sāñci. A *Kañcuka*-like garment was originally a constituent of Scythian costume in central Aśia,[35] and was probably introduced by them into India.[36] Indeed this mode of dress was an imitation from the foreign soldiers. In the Gupta period it became a favourite dress for the men-in-arms.[37]

The appearance of trousers is, however, much more fascinating. Originally, this dress had developed as a matter of necessity in Central Asia. "By reason of their domestication of horse and horse-back riding the inhabitants of Central Asia were forced to discard the loose skirt like costume and to develop that ingenious piece of clothing that we call trousers. With the popularity of horse-riding it spread to other parts of the globe."[38] Indeed the Scythians among whom the use of long and raṭher wide trousers was common since 5th century B.C.[39] introduced this convenience in India. In the Kuśaṇa period, it became popular and the Guptas adopted it from them. By 7th century A.D. trousers in various lengths had come into vogue in the country.[40]

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30 Marshall, J.—*Taxila*, p., 549.

31 Ibid., p., 208.

32 Sulimirski, T.—*The Sarmatians*, pp., 30-32.

33 M. B. Droṇa Parva, 119. 45-51.

34 Arrian, Frag. XVI.

35 McGovern, W. M.—*Early Empires of Central Asia*, Pl., I.

36 Moti Chandra—*Prācina Bhāratiya Veśa-Bhūṣā*, p., 142.

37 Yajdani, G—*Ajantā*, Pt. I, Pl. 24b, p., 41; Pl. II, p., 9; Pl. 24, p., 22; Pl. 25, p., 25; Marshall, J.—*The Bagh Caves*, Pl. D; Also Kak, R. C.—*Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Pls. 20, 22, 24; Gupta rulers are often met in Kañcuka on their coins. According to Moti Chandra Guptas adopted it as a convenient mode of dress from the Scythians and the Huṇas. *Prācina Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, Intro. p., 17. I think they adopted it from the Kusānas rather than the Śakas and Hūnas as the coins types amply suggest; *Harṣa-Carita* (p. 206) also refers to its use.

38 McGovern, W. M.—op. cit., p., 2.

39 Herzfeld, E—*Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38, p., 5.

40 *Harṣacarita*, p., 206.

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The introduction of shoes in the battlefield was again a foreign contribution. The appearance of shoes exclusively in association with foreigners in the early art of India more than substantiates this supposition.[41] In Mathurā art many people of possible Scytho-Kuśāṇa lineage appear in *Puttabandha*[42], a shoe type referred to by Buddha-ghoṣa as current among the Yavanas.[43] *Khapusa*, a shoe-type which came up to the knees and was popular with the Guptas was probably of the same type. Incidentally, the invention of boot was connected with the horse-back riding, in Central Asia.[44]

With the invaders some new methods of fortification also came into vogue. The Greeks and the Kuśāṇas with their superior military genius planned their defences in a scientific way. Both the people, however, differed in their concept of fortification and this would be revealed by a comparison between Sirkap and Sirsukh, the Indo-Greek and Kuśāṇa settlements at Taxila. "Comparing the Sirsukh fortifications with those of Sirkap we observe that there are several essential differences between them. In the first place the Sirsukh walls are faced with heavy diaper-masonry which was characteristic of the Parthian and early Kuśāṇa period instead of coursed rubble masonry characteristic of Greek and Śaka periods. Secondly they are pieced with loop holes for the use of defenders standing on the ground floor. Thirdly their bastions are semi-circular in plan instead of rectangular and on the ground floor are hallow within insted of solid. In the case of both Sirkap and Sirsukh it may of course be taken for granted that the bastions were divided like the bastions of late Indian fortresses into two or more stories and that the upper storey was invariably hallow.[45]" The art of mining the defences is also supposed to be a borrowing from the Greeks. This is suggested by the occurrence of the term Suranga in *Arthaśāstra*, supposed to be a derivation from the Greek word Syrinx.[46]

The aforesaid features appearing in the Indian battlefield about the beginning of the Christian era are indeed indications of a radical change in the strategy and tactics of war. It is generally accepted that "the central Asian nomads brought in India some battle tactics and weapons which had originated in Eurasian Steppes including those of north central Asian tribes.[47]" The Scythian mode of war described by Bacchofer is very instructive in this respect. "Scyths were famous for their horsemanship and archery. These achievements were the

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41 Rosenfield, J. M.—*The Dynastic Art of Kushanas*, Pls. 1, 2, 13, 22, 24, etc.

42 Moti Chandra—*Prācīna Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, p., 39.

43 Altekar, A.—*Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Intro. p., 154.

44 McGovern, W. M,—*Early Empires of Central Asia*, p., 2.

45 Marshall, J.—*Taxila*, p., 218.

46 Winternitz, M.—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p., 429f.

47 Bongard Levin, G. M.—*Kuśaṇas Studies in U.S.S.R.* p., 48, unfortunately the scholar has not elaborated.

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basis of their tactics; riding in widely spaced extended order they rushed upon the enemy, shot the arrows, threw their javelins, turned shot again while apparently flying, to return when the close units of their foes had been thrown into disorder. It was only then that they dismounted and mopped up their adversaries with the akinakes, the battle axe and the dagger. Militarily, they relied exclusively on mobility which was extra ordinarily high and upon long range weapon. The Parthians had adopted the same costume, the same weapons and the same tactics.[48] Indeed some of these tacts must have been employed by them on the Indian battlefield with advantage.

By the time the Scythians entered India they had imbibed some Sarmatian influence.[49] This seems to explain the discovery of armour at Taxila as also the appearance of long sword and heavy javelins in the art of the Kuśāṇa period. According to Prof. R. S. Sharma, "apparently the Śakas spread over western India, in regions around Mathurā and in the Punjab and north west western frontier on account of their skill in the use of heavy armed cavalry, and the same factor explains the success and the long rule of the Kuśāṇas in northern India.[50]"

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48 Bacchofer—*Journal of the American Oriental Studies, Vol.* 61, p., 247-48.

49 According to Bacchofer the Śakas who finally came into India were Sarmatians and not the Scythians, Ibid., p., 48.

50 Sharma, R. S.—*Central Asia and Early Indian Cavalry* (c. 200 B.C.-1200 A.D.), a paper included in "Central Asia" by Guha A., p., 175.

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A NOTE ON MAURYA IMPERIALISM AND ITS DIFFERENCES FROM ACHAEMENIAN IMPERIALISM

By

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The theory of Maurya imperialism framed after the imperial system of Achaemenian Iran needs scrutiny. The idea of imperialism in India is as old as the Vedic literature in which we find the terms Samrāṭ, Ekarāṭ, Adhirāṭ, etc. It has been pointed out that in Atharvaveda (III, 4.1 ; VI, 98.1) the terms Ekarāṭ and Adhirāja are used in the sense of an emperor. That the term Adhirāja, occurring in Ṛgveda (X, 128.9), also means an emperor has been suggested. [1] In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, it is said that whoever desires to attain supremacy over all kings, to attain to the rank of emperor.... and desires that he be the supreme ruler, the sole emperor (ekarāṭ) of the whole earth, bounded by the sea, upto its very extremeties, should be consecrated and crowned with the 'Aindra Mahābhiṣeka'.[2] In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V.1.1.13) it is clearly stated that by performing the Rājasūya sacrifice one becomes king and by performing the Vājapeya sacrifice one becomes an emperor. Śatapatha Br. further says about Indra that before slaying Vṛtra he was Indra but after slaying Vṛtra he became Mahendra, just as a king (rājan) becomes a mahārāja after obtaining victory (Śat. Br. IX.3.4.8). So the clear distinction between a king and an emperor was made as early as the days of the Brāhmaṇa literature in India.

The names of twelve emperors of ancient India are found in Aitareya Br. and thirteen in Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa.[3] Those kings may not be historical figures since we cannot establish their identity with modern methods, but we should not ignore the fact that at least the names of emperors are thus preserved in our old literature. It is certain that the authors of the Brāhmaṇa literature had no necessity to fabricate names of emperors if they were not real figures. In historical times, we find the steady growth of an all-India empire with the rise and expansion of the Magadhan monarchy. And by the time the Nandas were overthrown by Candragupta Maurya, the Magadhan empire had taken the shape of an empire in the true sense of the term. And if we trace the stages of the expansion of Magadha we can say that it was entirely in conformity with the gradual process of expansion of the Magadhan empire that Candragupta, successor of the Nandas, conquered and annexed the Punjab and the region

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1 Kane, P. V. : *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. II, p., 64.

2 Ait. Br. 39.1.

3 Kane P. V. : *History of Dharmasastra,* Vol. III, p., 66.

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beyond the Godāvarī was conquered and annexed to the Magadhan empire, now named Maurya empire. So the Maurya empire was the culmination of the process of expansion of Magadha started since the times of Bimbisāra.

If we examine the nature of Achaemenian imperialism of Iran we find some marked differences between Achaemenian and Maurya imperial systems. The pattern of Achaemenian empire as framed by Cyrus was first planned after Assyrian pattern in which conquered states were turned into Provinces, each of which was ruled by a governor with a full staff of subordinates and all were kept in touch with the central power. But the chief difference between these Assyrian provinces and the twenty satrapies established by Cyrus, lay in the fact that the satrapies took the place of far larger independent monarchies. Each was ruled by a satrap, who was in point of fact himself a monarch and was surrounded by a miniature court. Not only did he carry on the civil administration but he was also the commander of the satrapal levies. And this office, further became hereditary too.[4]

It has been also pointed out about the Achaemenians that after conquest by the Persians, local rulers were frequently confirmed in their power, remaining rulers in their own right side by side with the royal governors or satraps or sometimes acting as satraps themselves.[5] So the picture of Achaemenian imperial system is that of an empire which was divided into about twenty provinces or satrapies, each under a satrap or governor. The governors came from Persian noble families and the post tended to become hereditary. The basic system of an absolute monarchy and a number of semi-independent governors which was established in this period continued in Iran until the end of the 19th century.[6]

The pattern of Maurya empire was entirely different both in spirit and in character. We know very well that the Maurya empire was highly centralised. Candragupta Maurya and his successors had brought the whole of India, from the borders of Persia upto Mysore, under their direct rule. Aśoka, inspite of all his remorse for the bloodshed and slaughter of the Kaliṅga war, had no idea of allowing Kaliṅga to remain as a vassal state with internal autonomy. He, without any hesitation, annexed Kaliṅga and made it a province of his empire. The inscriptions of Aśoka clearly show that the Mauryas did not believe in having self-autonomous provinces or vassal states. The fact that in Maurya polity the princes of the imperial family, generally the sons of the emperor, ruled as provincial governors, also shows that the imperial family always remained in touch with the different parts of the empire. The fourteen major rock edicts of Aśoka bear testimony to the fact that the emperor's will and edicts

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4 Olmstead, A. T. : *History of the Persian Empire*, p., 59.

5 Richard N. Frye, *Iran*, pp., 36-37.

6 Donald N. Wilber, *Iran: Past and Present*, p., 22.

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were to be imposed uniformly upon the people all over the empire. Thus the same edicts are to be found in the northwestern India as well as in Yerraguḍi in Madras and in Girnar and Sopara in the west and Kaliṅga in the east. It clearly shows that different parts of the empire were placed under the direct rule of the emperor. The will of the provincial governors or their independant judgements had no place in formulating the policy of the empire. It will not be wrong to say that the Mauryas were the dictators and their highly centralised government had hardly any similarity with the remarkably flexible Achaemenid government.

Secondly, the subject nations of the Achaemenians were not only given distinct recognition but shown due respect by their Achaemenid overlords. Thus the wall relief of Persepolis depicting the tribute bearers gives us a clear idea about the different nations ruled by the Achaemenids like the Parthians, Bactrians, Indians, Armenians, Śakas, Kashshites, etc.[7] But in the remains of the Maurya palace of Aśoka or in the pieces of Maurya art, nowhere we can get any idea about the peoples of different parts of India and Afghanistan, who were under their rule.

Further, the Achaemenids ruling over the peoples of different faiths were not only tolerant in religious matters, but also exerted themselves to show honour to the various religions of the empire. Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to Palestine from captivity in Babylon and rebuild their temple, while Cambyses paid homage to the Egyptian gods after his conquest of their land.[8] But the Mauryas probably were not that much tolerant in religious matters. In spite of the fact that Aśoka preached religious tolerance in his inscriptions and said that essence of all faiths is the same, he propagated some particular type of 'Dhamma' and expected the people not only of his own empire but even the peoples of neighbouring countries to follow its precepts. Thus, somehow or other he was evolving at least a particular code of conduct and behaviour and trying to impose it upon peoples within and outside his own personal jurisdiction.

Aśoka's noble ideal of 'Dharmavijaya' too, if judged impartially, certainly shows his desire for cultural conquest and to bring all the peoples of the known world under one particular pattern of living and thinking, and thus under his own personal influence. Such an attitude is definitely in contrast with the Achaemenian attitude towards peoples of different faiths. So far as Candragupta and Bindusāra are concerned, though we do not know the exact religious policy persued by them, it is certain that they did not show any special respect to gods of other faiths, the followers of which lived in India. It is certain that a good

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7 Olmsted A. T. : *History of the Persian Empire*, Plates XXXII & XXXIII, pp., 228, 293.

8 Richard N. Frye, *Iran*, p., 36.

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number of Persians and Greeks lived in India in Maurya times. Aśoka's inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic, prove it and the municipal administration of Candragupta, in which there was a special committee to look after the foreigners, shows that they formed an important group in Indian population. But we do not find any trace of Greek faith in India. Neither Iranian nor Greek gods and goddesses had obtained any recognition from the Maurya monarchs. At least there is no data to prove that the Mauryas actively encouraged the Greek and Iranian settlers in India to pursue their own religious practices. Neither in archaeological nor in literary sources we have any such proof.

If Maurya empire was planned after the Achaemenid system, why did not the Mauryas introduce a coinage after the model of the Achaemenid monarch? If they had done it the posterity would have been benefited in knowing how these Mauryas looked and dressed.[9]

The Achaemenids were also specially reputed for justice. According to Herodotus (V. 25) a judge who had accepted a bribe was flayed alive and his skin made into a covering for his bench, whereupon his son was appointed in his stead and admonished to guide his actions by the knowledge of where he was sitting. In the case of the Mauryas, we find Aśoka very eager to do justice and he was specially worried for the highhandedness of the Maurya officials in distant provinces. But nowhere we find any kind of punishment specifically laid down to be inflicted upon Maurya officials who misused their powers.

Lastly in the case of the Achaemenids we find Darius introducing legal reforms. He had copied Hammurabi's method of the codification of law. But the Mauryas, in spite of the fact that they were not strictly following the age-old practices and traditions of the country, had not cared to give to their subjects a clear and fixed code of law. Though in India, a king was not the law-maker, Indian kings in every age got fresh laws drawn up and old laws revised by the learned Brāhmaṇas. Since it is controversial whether Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya belonged to the Maurya age, we cannot say that the Mauryas had any special interest in the codification of law. Since the Maurya polity in several aspects differed from the political pattern found in Arthaśāstra, we can say that Arthaśāstra was not meant for the guidance of the Maurya State. And Aśokan edicts can, by no means, be compared favourably with the laws of Darius.

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9 Herodotus, IV. 166; VII. 28.

Regarding the coins of Darius we are told that 'Darius fixed the coin types for his successors. On the obverse is the slim bearded king.....He wears the royal robe and on his slightly bowed head is the war crown. His right hand grasps, point down, the butted spear, over his right shoulder; a quiver is over his left shoulder and in his left hand is the strung bow.....'—Olmstead, A. T.: *History of the Persian Empire*, p., 189.

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All these facts stand in the way of agreeing to the theory that the Achaemenid empire was a model for the Maurya empire. Though the highly centralised Assyrian empire compares more favourably with the Maurya empire, we cannot say that the Maurya empire was planned after it because we have already discussed that the idea of a ' universal monarch ' existed in India even in the Vedic days. So we have no reason to think that India is indebted to any foreign country for the idea of imperialism given concrete shape by the mighty Mauryas.

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EDUCATION IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

By

MAHESH KUMAR SHARAN, Bodh-Gaya (Bihar)

Scholars in Kambuja studied all the subjects taught in India e.g. the *Vedas*, especially the *Atharva*, the *Vedāṅgas* and *Pāṇinī's* grammar. *Sanskrit* inscriptions of Cambodia portray a profound knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, metre and prosody etc. Their spelling and grammatical correctness are superior to many Sanskrit inscriptions of India itself.

Progress of contemporary Cambodia in the field of education is attributed to contacts with India. The country had adopted Indian educational tradition. From inscriptions it appears that in matters of educational organization, educational centres, subjects of study and various catagories of teachers etc., there was a close resemblance with contemporary Indian system. Visiting Indian scholars, in different periods, inspired and promoted educational activities in the country. They helped continuous maintenance of educational contact. Among important visiting Indian scholars the name of *Agastya* may be mentioned. This Agastya was an adept in the *Veda* and Vedāṅgas.[1] One Brāhmaṇa of *Āryāvarta* named Sarvajñamuni possessed sound knowledge of all the four *Vedas* and *Āgamas*. He was a devotee of Lord Śiva. In Kambuja his successors adorned high positions.[2] We know about a *Tāṅtrika* named *Hiraṇyadāman* who was invited from India for imparting education in *Brahmavināśikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Śirachheda*. Coedes suggest that the inscriptions which bear resemblance to the *Gauḍa* style give us an idea that the writers of these inscriptions were either residents of eastern India or they had lived there for sometime.[3]

Language

Sanskrit, *Pāli* and *Prākrta* all the three languages were adopted but *Sanskrit* was given the highest position. From the beautiful use of *Alaṅkāras* of *Sanskrit* it is evident that the composers of these inscriptions had sufficient knowledge of metres. The Kambuja people had a wide collection of Indian literature. They used Indian alphabets. From the history of *Tsin* dynasty which gives information

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1 Majumdar, R. C., *IK*, No. 60, p., 76, v. 5.

" अथ द्विजोऽगस्त्य इति प्रतीतो यो वेदवेदाङ्गविदार्य्यदेशे ।
लब्धोदयो या महिषीद्वङ्शा यशोमतीति प्रथिता यशोभिः ॥

2 Majumdar, R. C., *IK*, No. 191, p., 549, v. 7.

शर्व्व (प्रियो) ऽभवद् विप्रस् सर्व्वागम विशारदः ।
सर्व्व लोकार्थकृत् (न) नाम्ना सर्वज्ञमुनिरीरितः ॥

3 Majumdar, R. C., Kambujadeśa, Madras, 1944, p., 109.

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about the period between 265-419 A.D. we know that the *Funanese* alphabets were similar to the alphabets prevalent in central India.[4] This statement is further supported by another account, *Tong Tien* which was written in the 8th century A.D. and is considered to be an Encyclopaedia.

Prākṛta

Inscriptions in *Prākrita* have not been found but references to *Guṇādhya*, are contained in them which prove the prevalence of the study of Prākṛta also.[5]

Brāhmī

The Brāhmaṇa emigrants wanted to maintain the eloquance of their language and for this they used the Brāhmī script.[6] At places southern *Pallava* script has also been used in the inscriptions and such inscriptions constitute the basis of the theory that Indian colonists had their origin in both south and north India. Old Cambodian, the local language also received attention. A large number of inscriptions have appendix in vernacular and some of them are written exclusively in local language, from a study of which it appears that it absorbed words both from *Sanskrit* and *Prākṛta*.

For communication and calculation also the *Khmers* had developed their own script and used a counting system based on units of five almost similar to the decimal system. Their calender delineated a thirteen month year, and a week comprised of seven days.

Teachers

Teachers from India were called for imparting education in special subjects. Very often, *Kambuja* teachers and learned men also visited India for studies. Cambodian intellectuals also were taking active and direct part in the development of Indian literature. *Kavīndra Paṇḍita* had thoroughly studied *śabla*, *Artha*, *Āgama*, *Śāstra*, *Kāvya* and also the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.[7] The Pāśupata teachers like *Vidyāpuṣpa* and *Vidyāviśeṣa* were well-versed in *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Sanskrit* grammar. Vidyāviśeṣa later studied Buddhist doctrine also.

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4 BEFEO, Vol. III, p., 254.

5 Majumdar, R. C., *IK*, No. 69, p., 109

पारदः स्थिरकल्याणो गुणाढ्यः प्राकृताप्रियः ।
अनीतिर्य्यो विशालाक्षश् शूरो न्यक्कृतभीमकः ॥

cf. also. No. 62, v. 53, p., 93.

गुणान्वितस्तिष्ठतु दूषितोपि स्थानार्पितो येन पुनर्गुणाढ्यः ।
गदोप्यलञ्चारुविभूषणाय हरप्रयुक्तः किमुतामृताङ्शुः ॥

6 Chatterji, B. R. *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Cambodia, 1965, p., 111 ff.

7 Majumdar R. C. IK, No. 131, p., 337.

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Teachers have been mentioned by the title of *Upādhyāya* and *Adhyāpaka*.[8] It is difficult to distinguish between the two categories namely *Adhyāpaka* and *Upādhyāya* but it sems that the *Upādhyāyas* were those teachers who maintained themselves by imparting education of *Veda*, *Vedāṅgas* and grammar only. The *Adhyāpakas* and *Upādhyāyas* were different from the Āchāryas. The order of precedence for the purpose of reception of teachers is contained in Prei Prasat inscription of *Yaśovarman*[9] which clearly says that the Pāśupata teachers should be honoured after the *Vipras* or the Brāhmaṇas with *Vedic* scholarship.

Students

The students were called *Antevāsin* or *Śiṣyas*. *Śivasoma* who had studied *Śāstra* under the feet of Śaṁkara was appointed *Upādhyāya* in *Śrīndravarmeśvara-kashetra*.[10] In the same manner *Vinaya* was appointed *Upādhyāya* in the temple of *Parameśvara*. i.e. *Prah Ko* by *Jayavarman*.[11] *Jayamaṅgalārtha* who was the grandson of *Jaya Mahāpradhāna* was appointed as *Adhyāpaka* during the time of king *Indrajayavarman*.[12]

From inscriptions we do not get any direct reference to teacher-taught relationship in contemporary Cambodia but the base of educational tradition was taken from India where teachers commanded the position of a father and the students were considered to be equal to their son.

Centres of Education

Generally temples were the centres of education where teachers and students lived together. Very often regular halls of learning designated *Vipraśālā*, *Sarasvatī* were attached to them. In *Śaiva āśramas* learned *Śaiva* teachers and

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8 Ibid., No. 67 p. 130, v. 58.

" बुद्धज्ञानविद्यानज्ञाश्छब्दशास्त्रविदस्तथा ।
अध्यापकं विशेषेण ताभ्यामाचार्य्यमर्च्चयेत् ॥

9 Majumdar, R. C., opcit. No. 68, p., 136, v. 60.

" शैवपाशुपताचार्यौ पूज्यौ विप्रादनन्तरम् ।
तयोश्च वैयाकरणः पूजनीयोऽधिकं भवेत् ॥

10 Ibid., No. 54, v. 29, p., 59.

तस्याचार्य्याखिलाचार्य्येवन्दनीयाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजः ।
आसीद्विद्यासु निष्णातश् शिवसोम इतीरितः ॥

11 Ibid., No. 126, v. 11-12. p., 321.

जातो विनयाभिजा (ज्ञा) ता
राज्यं युवाणाष्टभिरेव धात्रा, योऽध्यापकत्वे परमेश्वराख्ये ।

12 Ibid., No. 190, v. 20, p., 544.

श्रीप्रभाव (र) जा साध्वी सुभद्रासु (सू) त तदुरोः ।
जयमङ्लार्थसूरेः सूनुमध्यापकाधिपात् ॥

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their disciples were housed. They got accommodation and food in these temples. Females did not live here but there were separate arrangements for their education. The first queen of *Jayavarman VII* received her education from her elder sister who was herself a learned woman and used to impart education in *Buddhist* monastery.[13] Inscriptions refer to many such educated women.

The *Āśramas* too were important centres of education. In the *Bantay Srei* inscription of *Jayavarman*, the head of the temple has been ordered to maintain a regular reading of the *Vedas*. These educational institutions were, however, secular in nature and they did not have any communal bias, and no distinction among the students or the teaching staff on considerations of their castes was ever made.

Some learned *Brāhmaṇas* had their own private *āśramas* for the students. We have already noted the establishment of 100 monasteries-cum-educational centres by *Yaśovarman*.[14] The head of these institutions was called *Kulādhyakṣa*. Detailed instructions were given in inscriptions about their administration. Teachers of *Pañcarātra* and grammar were given special treatment as they were supposed to be superior to other teachers. In *Śaiva āśramas* the *Śaiva* and *Pāśupata āchāryas*, besides grammarians, enjoyed superior position.

Even in Buddha *āśramas* educated *Brāhmaṇa* teachers were given respect next only to *Buddhist* teachers of grammar and *Buddhist* principles.[15] In all the *āśramas* the teaching staff consisted of two writers, two librarians and two *Rājakuṭīpāla* and six *Patrakāras*.[16] Copies of books were prepared by *Patrakāras*. In one inscription there is a mention of the donation of manuscripts of all the *Śāstras*.[17] Inscriptions refer to pen, ink-pot and *Tāmrapatra* also.[18] An inscription refers to the establishment of one *Vidyāśrama* at *Dvijendrapura* by a

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13 Ibid., No. 75A v. 10, p., 575.

" यत्सान्निद्य (ध्य) मनासाद्य सान्निद्धेय (ध्ये) पु सुसंपदा ।
वाचात्तासुभृताश्चेष्टा वाग्देवी सा पुनातु वः ॥

14 Ibid., No. 61, Loley Inscription, p., 83.

15 No. 130, v. 58, p., 130.

" बुद्धज्ञानविधानज्ञांश्छब्दशास्त्रविदस्तथा ।
अध्यापकं विशेषेण ताभ्यामाचार्य्यमर्च्चयेत् ॥

16 No. 67, v. 98, p., 126.

" द्वौ लेखकौ राजकुटीपालौ पुस्तकरक्षिणौ ।
ताम्बूलिकौ च पानीयहारौ षट् पत्रकारकाः ॥

17 No. 173, Ban That Ins. of Sūryavarman II, p., 440.

18 No. 67. v. 84, p., 131.

" आचार्य्येभ्यः प्रदेयानि वृद्धभिक्षुभ्य एव च ।
रिक्त पत्रं मषीं मृस्नामध्येतृषु दिशेदपि ॥ "

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Brāhmaṇa named *Divākara*, where statue of *Viṣṇu-Maheśvara* was also installed at this place.[19]

The *Buddhist* monasteries also played a very important role in educational progress of the country. *Yaśovarman's* Ta Prohm inscription contains a reference of his donation to a *Bauddhāśrama*.[20] These *Baudhāśramas* or educational centres were called *Saugatāśrama*. Buddhist religion and grammar were taught here. A scholar named *Kīrtivarman* who was minister of *Jayavarman* V had brought many books from foreign countries. *Sūryavarman* II is known to have granted aid for the propagation of *Buddhist* education. He started one such centre also. Indradevā, the second queen of *Jayavarman* VII had a very deep study of all Buddhist scriptures. She also imparted education to the temple disciples (nuns) of this religion at *Nagendratung*, *Tilakotara*, and *Narendrasrama*. To celebrate the king's victory of *Champa*, she had written a drama which was based upon the *Jātakas*.[21] The participants included many nuns which suggests that encouragement was given to female education by the Buddhist monasteries. Besides education in Buddhist literature, grammar etc. these institutions also played their role in training people in *Yogācāra* philosopy.

Ruler's interest in Education

For the maintenance of teachers and students who lived in their institutions, grants were made by the kings. People of higher status also extended their help in the form of donations. The agriculturists and traders also donated foodgrain and clothing.[22]

In the spread of education patronage of the kings was a key factor. *Yaśovarman*, *Sūryavarman* II and *Jayavarman* VII were the prominent exponents in this field. They encouraged poets and organised and assisted their patron educationists. *Kavisammelanas* were a kind of competition in which the poets read out their compositions and prizes were awarded to them. A poet named

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19 No. 111, v. 29, p. 291.

" (निधाय भूयः) प्रतिमां स विष्णो
द्विजेन्द्रपुर्य्यां विधिना विधीन्द्रः ।
प्रियेन्द्रलक्ष्म्या.....द्विजेन्द्रो
द्विजेन्द्र विद्याश्र (म) मत्र चक्रे ॥ "

20 No. 67, v. 105, p. 127.

" इतीरयत्यव्यपदेश याञ्च
भविष्यतः कम्बुजराजराजान्
पश्यन् प्रदान प्रतिपत्तिदृष्टेद्वया
स श्रीयशोवर्म्मनराजजार्यराजः ॥ "

21 No. 182, *The Phimanka Inscription of Jayavarman VII*, p. 515.

22 No. 177, *Ta Prohm Inscription of Jayavarman VII*, p. 460.

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Śūra is referred to have defeated his opponent poet named *Bhīmaka*[23] *Bhāgavata*, the *guru* of *Jayavarman* III, was a poet who was adorned with the title of *Pṛthvīndra Paṇḍita* and in recognition of his marvellous poetical deeds a present of golden palanquin was made to him.[24] *Phalapriya*, another poet, who was a student of *Jayendra Paṇḍita* was also later, decorated with the title *Kavīndra Paṇḍita*.[25]

Highly educated *purohitas* were appointed for educating the princes. The education of *Yaśovarman* was completed by *Vāmaśiva* who happened to be the teacher of king *Indravarman*.[26]

From the inscriptions it is revealed that the following rulers took keen interest in educational activities of the country :—

1. *King Indravarman*

   Because of the scholarly achievements of *Śivasoma*, the king had given him the position of his *guru*. This *Śivasoma* had studied the *Vedas*, Logic, *Kāvya*, *Purāṇa*, *Bharata sūtra* and probably *Mahābhārata* and *Vyākaraṇa*.[27]

2. *Jayavarman II*

   Śivasvāmi, the *guru* of the king and father of *Bhāgavata* was well-versed in the *Vedas*, *Vyākarana* and logic. He was given a very dignified position by the king.

3. *Yaśovarman*

   It is said that the king was himself well-versed in *Śilpaśāstra*, *lipi*, language, dance, music and science. He wrote commentary on *Mahābhāṣya*.[28]

4. King *Bhavavarman* was a very learned man.

5. *Sūryavarman* II had himself specialised in *Bhāṣya*, *Kāvya*, the six philosophies and *Dharmaśāstra* etc.[29]

6. King *Udayādityavarman* had labouriously learnt *Vyākaraṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Siddhānta* and other *Śāstras* from *Jayendra Paṇḍita*.[30]

Subjects of Study

Besides giving special attention to religion and philosophy, contemporary scholars studied literature also which is evident from the *Sanskrit* inscriptions in various verse—style. Even polity was studied. Subjects like education, metre,

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23 No. 64, p., 105—Eastern Baray Inscriptions of Yaśovarman, v. 69.
24 No. 58, p., 70—Prasat Kok Po Ins.—v. 9.
25 No. 157, p., 400—Prasat Khna Ins. of Udayādityavarman, vv. 84-102.
26 No. 155, p., 385 ff.—Prah Nok Stele Ins.
27 No. 85, v. 8, p., 70. Prasat Kok Po Ins.
28 No. 61, v. 51, p., 86—Loley Ins. of Yaśovarman.
29 No. 173, p , 451,—Ban That Ins. of Suryavarman, p. 451 ff.
30 No. 152, p., 363,—Sdok Kak Thom Stele Ins.

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grammar, *nirukta*, astronomy and *Kāvya* were studied thoroughly. People took special interest in *Jyotiṣa*, which is referred to as *Horāśāstra*. Inscription No. 152 refers to *Gaṅdharva Vidyā*, *śilpavidyā*, *Horāśāstra* and medicine[31] and from the study of other inscriptions we learn of the appointment of professors who taught—(1) *Vedās*, (2) *Dharmaśāstras*, (3) *Yogāchāra*, (4) *Śāṁkhya*, *Pātañjali* (*Yoga*), (5) *Nyāya*, (6) *Vaiśeṣika*, (7) *Mimāṁśā*, (8) *Śaiva Siddhāṅta*, (9) *Āgama Śāstra*, (10) *Āyurveda*, (11) *Jyotiṣa*, (12) *Arthaśāstra*, (13) *Rāmāyaṇa—Mahābhārata*, (14) *Purāṇas*, (15) *Kāvyas* etc.

It appears from many inscriptions that people were aware of *Vedic* stories. The *Atharvaveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Indra* and *Ahalyā* stories have also been mentioned in the *Vedic* stories. The *Śaiva Vyākaraṇa* refers to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* were also studied. A learned *Brāhmaṇa* named *Somaśarman* made to a temple a gift of a set of these works for being daily read to the listners who were promised benediction.

Although we do not get reference to all the *Purāṇas*, *Paurāṇic* stories about *Sāvitrī*, *Vāśudeva*, murder of *Kaṁsa* and *Hiraṇya Kaśipu* were prevalent.[32] Inscriptions contain many references from *Manusmṛti*.[33] People were familiar with *Raghuvaṁśa* of *Kālidāsa*.[34] *Setubandha* and *Siṁhavilokitanyāya* of *Pravarasena* and *Gautam's* Nyāyasūtra have been referred to.[35] People had knowledge of *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* too.[36] Reference to *Vālmīki* and Vyāsa, the authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively and also to the important personalities of these two epics have been found.

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31 Sdok Kak Thom Stele Ins. 362-382.

32 No. 73, p., 231 ff—Bat Cum Ins. of Rājendravarman.

33 No. 66 v. 63-64, p., 123. Prasat Komnap Ins. of Yaśovarman.

"आचार्य्यवद् गृहस्थोपि माननीयो बहुश्रुतः ।
अभ्यागतगुणानाञ्च परा विद्येति मानवम् ॥"
वित्तं बन्धुर्व्वयः कर्म्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी ।
एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद् यदुत्तरम् ॥

34 No. 30, v. 2, p., 39—Kedei Ang Temple Ins.

राजा श्रीरुद्रवर्म्मासीत् त्रिविक्रमपराक्रमः ।
यस्य सौराज्यमद्यापि दिलीपस्येव विश्रुतम् ॥

35 No. 63, p., 97—Eastern Baray Ins. v. 34.

येन प्रवरसेनेन धर्म्मसेतुं विवृण्वता ।
परः प्रवरसेनोपि जितः प्राकृतसेतुकृत् ॥

36 No. 30, p., 39, v. 6—Kedi Ang Temple Ins.

तस्य तौ मन्त्रिणावास्तां सम्मतौ कृतवेदिनौ ।
धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रज्ञौ धर्म्मार्थाविव रुपिणौ ॥

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RATNAGIRI SCHOOL : ITS ORIGIN

By

D. R. Das, Calcutta

In the history of Buddhism, Orissa has a place unique in importance. It is true that no Nāgārjuna or Vasubandhu was born here but the rock at Dhauli stands as a silent witness to what she has done to the cause of Buddhism after sacrificing hundreds and thousands of her bravest sons. It is not difficult to realise that the Dharmamahāmātras appointed in Kaliṅga after the fateful war near Bhubaneswar carried on with the help of their subordinates an extensive propaganda work for Buddhism. The rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada were also intended, though indirectly, to attract people to the religion of Buddha. A similar edict-bearing pillar appears to have been installed at the site of the present Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. A few other fragments of the Mauryan epoch come from the same city.

Royal patronage to Buddhism ceased with the coming to power of the Cedis. But though dormant, Buddhism did not disappear altogether from here. Indeed as late as the 5th century A.D., it appears to have been the prevailing religion in the Bhubaneswar region when it finally gave way to *Śaivism*. This explains why the images of Lakulīśa excepting the *lakuṭa* (staff) are almost identical with the image of Buddha. In many cases the image of Lakulīśa recalls the Buddhist Miracle at Śrāvastī being represented in the *dharmacakra-pravartana mudrā* on a full-blown lotus with his disciples on other lotuses having *nāgas* by the side of the stalk. The deer on the pedestal of an image on the Śiśireśvara reminds one of the First Sermon of Buddha. Besides these unconscious borrowings in the domain of art, the Pāśupatas did not conceal their sectarian feeling towards Buddhism. It has been suggested by some scholars that the object of worship showing chisel-marks all over the body in the Bhāskareśvara temple was originally an edict bearing pillar and later converted into a *liṅga*.

Overwhelmed at Bhubaneswar, Buddhism lingered however feebly in other parts of Orissa. A copper plate charter of the time of Gopacandra (c. 1st half of the 6th century A.D.) and found at Joyrampur (Balasore Dist.) records the grant of a village for establishing a *vihāra* at Bodhipadraka, where presided the god Ārya—Avalokiteśvara, for the provisions of the ceremonial worship of the same god and also for meeting the necessities of the monks. But Buddhist relics of this period are few and sculptures belonging to the post-Mauryan and Gupta epoch are almost absent.[1] Then suddenly from the 7th century, flourishing

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1 A piece of sculpture depicting the eight great events of Buddha's life from Solampur has been taken by some scholars to belong to the Gupta epoch.

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centres of Buddhism began to spring up almost simultaneously in various parts of Orrisa. They grew up following the line of the Assia range of hills at Baudh (Phulbani District), Baneswarnasi, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Chauduar (Cuttack District), Khadipada, Solampur, Ayodhyā (Balasore District) and Khiching (Mayurbhanj District). The distribution pattern of these sites indicates a tendency to concentrate in the Cuttack-Jajpur region. Scattered centres outside this area at Achutarajpur (Puri District), Surada and Buddhakhol (Ganjam District) are results of extension of influence from the lower Mahānadī valley.

The art that came to serve the need of the regenerated religion is strikingly fresh and characterised by movement in the best tradition of the Gupta period. The remarkable success the artist attained in imparting to the Buddhist images an expression of 'active benevolence intermixed with the spirit of passive contemplation' is mainly due to the influence of the Gupta aesthetic formulae inherent in the post Gupta School of Sārnāth. But the absence of any classical Gupta precedence in Orissa suggests that this early medieval school of the lower Mahānadī valley drew its inspiration from land far beyond.

History of Orissa shows an age-old link with Kosala wherefrom pilgrims trekked their way along the Mahānadī to the land of Jagannātha. The road, however, was opened by the caravan traders long before Puri became a holy city. Enroute Orissa, this highway touched among other places, Śrīpura (Sirpur), the ancient capital of Mahākosala. Excavations at the latter site have proved that it was a strong centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the early medieval period. Dikshit, who has excavated the site, observes, "The architecture of the Buddhist monasteries and some of the relics associated with them bears a striking resemblance to those from Nālandā so that one is tempted to believe that the art styles were directly imported from Nālandā with the introduction of Mahāyāna into the region".[2] The historical background for the contact between Magadha and Kosala was set when the Somavaṁśī Harṣagupta married Vāsatā, the daughter of the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman of Magadha. Results of this contact came to surface when during the reign of their son, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, Sirpur became a strong centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Since no vestige of Buddhism before the time of Bālārjuna has been found in the excavation, it is almost certain that the religion owes its introduction in Kosala to the Somavaṁśī—Maukhari matrimonial alliance. Buddhism brought in its train the legacies of the Gupta art as developed by the Eastern School. The stone sculptures and bronzes discovered at Sirpur have undisguised affiliation with similar objects from Nālandā, Gayā and Kurkihar. But the Buddhist inspira-

2 Dikshit M. G., "Some Buddhist Bronzes from Sirpur, Madhya Pradesh", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, 1955-57, No. 5, p. 1.

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tion of the Sirpur school ceased with the fall of the Somavaṁśīs. Excavation has shown that not long after the Somavaṁśīs, the Buddhist Monasteries at Sirpur were occupied by a people of the Śaiva faith, who beheaded not a few of the Buddhist images. It is, however, wrong as Dikshit observes that the art of the Somavaṁśīs died with its rulers and its contribution to the history of Indian art was of short duration. On the contrary, Sirpur as the transmitting centre of the Gupta plastic idiom sustained all later art of Kosala. Even more, a very important regional school drew its entire inspiration from Sirpur. Indeed, a definite clue to the origins of the Gupta art of Orissa is offered by the Sirpur finds which point out the infiltration of the Gupta and early classical style into Orissa from the uplands of M.P. along the Mahānadī valley.[3]

It is more than a mere coincidence that two very strong centres of Buddhism emerged almost simultaneously in Kosala and Orissa respectively. Connected as they were by a well-travelled route along the Mahānadī, the possibility of their isolation from one another seems unlikely. The existence of some form of link between them becomes almost a certainty when images found at Sirpur in Kosala and Ratnagiri and other sites in Orissa suggest that at both the places, the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism was in practice. As the evidence stands, Ratnagiri comes to view a few decades after Buddhism first appeared at Sirpur. The conclusion, therefore, becomes inevitable that Buddhism spread to the lower Mahānadī valley from Kosala. This fact goes a long way to explain the Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri sculptures whose Gupta flavour has no precedence in Orissa. The identity in visual representation of images between Ratnagiri and Sirpur shows that the Gupta plastic tradition travelled from Magadha to Orissa via Kosala. The flowing grace imported through a sensitive and summary modelling endows the Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri figures with a liveliness and linear freedom which the sculptors have certainly derived from Sirpur. The smoothness of the surface and the supple roundness of the colossal Buddhas of Sirpur became the prevailing note of the images in the lower Mahānadī valley. The long tapering halo characterising the divine images of Orissa has its origin in the elliptical numbus of Sirpur. The Buddha images of Sirpur are built up from separate pieces of soft sandstone placed one upon another. It is an unusual feature in Indian sculpture but not a few sculptures at Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri are fashioned in the same manner. In another respect Ratnagiri recalls Sirpur. The central cell of a monastery at Ratnagiri had the doorway flanked by life-size images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Similar representation of the two river-goddesses occurred on the two sides of the doorway of the chapel in the monastery at Sirpur. Large sized images of the river goddesses appear at the doorway of several other temples of Kosala and their influence on the Ratnagiri specimens is evident.

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3 It was D. P. Ghosh who first drew our attention to this possibility (see *Lalit Kalā* No. 8, 1960 p. 86).

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Apart from transmitting the Gupta aesthetic formulae to Orissa, Sirpur contributed one or two other decorative motifs for its art. Thus, the legged *makara* with foliated tail and curved snout on a pillar of the "Main Temple" and on the two ends of the cross-bar behind a bronze image of Buddha seems to be prototype of the *makaras* on the early temples of Orissa. *Gaja-viḍāla* is another important decorative motif in Orissa. This is, however, absent in the early group of temples in Bhubaneśwar and other places. But in all later temples this motif has been used extensively to decorate the outer walls. Interestingly enough, the central Buddha image in the "Main Temple" at Sirpur is flanked by a lion on elephant. Before exporting this motif to Orissa, the Kosalan artist appears to have derived his idea about this form from Magadha. Leonine Śārdūla is found erect on elephant at the two sides of several bronze images from Nālandā and Kurkihar. A variant of this motif is a lion with rider rampant on elephant. Here also Sirpur supplies the model for the Orissan Śilpin. A Sirpur bronze to which reference has already been made, exhibits on the two sides of the Buddha image a crouching elephant on which is rearing a lion with a rider on its back.

The link between Sirpur and the Udayagiri-Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri complex must have been maintained through a number of relay stations on the Kosala-Orissa highway. A thorough exploration along the Mahānadī may bring to light many of these landmarks and help reconstructing the phases through which Sirpur passed the rich cultural heritage of Magadha to the Mahānadī valley. Near Cuttack, Baneswarnasi was one of such centres which stood on the way between Kosala and coastal Orissa. Ruins of brick built and stone temples, besides a few images of serene grace, are all that remain of a flourishing Buddhist establishment where travellers and pilgrims could rest before commencing their last leg of journey. Further upstream the Mahānadī and bordering the cultural horizon of Kosala, Banerji[4] noticed a colossal Buddha image at Baudh. The place name together with the stone image suggests the existence of this town as a Buddhist strong-hold for a certain period. It is also apparent that this place owes its Buddhist character to the many pilgrims who came down the Mahānadī from the Chhattisgarh plain. Situated midway between the upper and the lower Mahānadī valley, it could act as liaison between Sirpur and Ratnagiri. Unfortunately, the role of Baudh as diffusing the Sirpur strain towards the coast is very obscure in the absence of any relic of that period. It comes to view only when Ratnagiri has lost much of its freshness and introduced mannerism in the supple and delicate modelling of the early period. As a matter of fact, the Buddha image at Baudh is inspired by this latter Ratnagiri tradition and in consequence tends to become heavy and rigid. But it retains the early technique

4 Banerji R. D., *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, Vol. II, p. 390.

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of making images in section, a method introduced in Orissa from Sirpur. When Beglar and Banerji examined this Buddha image, the surrounding area was covered with debris and shrubs. Later, a clearing work at the site exposed the foundation of a monastery in whose chapel at the back end the Buddha image was installed. No systematic excavation has been carried out at the site but from what peeps through the earth it seems that the monastery was not far removed in plan from the *Saṁghārāmas* at Ratnagiri and Sirpur. Its approach was through a porch hall which juts out of the exterior wall on the east. Inside, a row of cells surrounded an open court on three sides. Opposite the porch, i.e. on the west, the wall projects beyond its alignment in the centre providing room for the chapel of the monastery. Resting against the back wall of this chamber is still sitting the imposing Buddha image which commanded respect from pilgrims for centuries. The far side of the monastery is not occupied by any other cell excepting the chapel. As a result, the length side of this monastery is lesser than its width. The thickness of the wall is also not uniform everywhere. Thus, while the back wall of the shrine chamber is 6′-9″ its sides are 7′-0 thick. For rest of the structure, the general dimension of the wall is 6′-0.

From the 10th century onwards, Buddhism in Orissa began to decline and the glamour of the Buddhist *Vihāras* started fading out. On the deserted Buddhist establishments sprang up new Brāhmaṇical settlements. The monastery at Baudh in particular was occupied by a Brāhmaṇical family, to a member of which Pṛthivīmahādevī made a grant of land.[5] She was the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga (Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti) of Kosala and wife of the Bhauma king Kusumahāra. The connection between Kosala and Orissa remained as close as it was before, but the traffic on the link road changed its character. The yellow robed monks on the road gradually thinned out while semi-naked recluses started coming in increasing number. The changed pattern of pilgrim had its impact felt on both the regions. But how this impact was felt is a different tale to tell.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210 ff.

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ANCIENT INDIAN HAND-MIRRORS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

By

C. MARGABANDHU, Baroda

Mirror is an important object of toilet equipment and of the various articles made by the metal workers, mirror must have formed an important house-hold object. Excavations have revealed quite a few hand-mirrors, mostly reported from—Early Historic levels datable to C. 200 B.C.—200 A.D. This period roughly corresponds to the Śuṅga-Sātavāhāna times.

These mirrors are made up of a circular disc furnished with a tang at base which is fitted into a handle made up predominantly of bone, ivory or of wood The mirror or the disc part is smooth and a little convex at the back, at times, but very often with a broad wavy rim and a raised boss (or a miniature knob) or *omphalos* at centre. The rim is intended perhaps to preserve the polish on the mirror.

The metal used for the manufacture is bronze or copper and it is very likely that the portion is coated with some preparations viz., mercury which gave it a silvery lustre on them. Highly polished metal plates were also perhaps used as mirrors in those days.[1] In fact, none of the mirrors found from excavations have revealed any shining effect left on them.

It is natural that the lustre has been removed due to the fact that it was buried in the soil for such a long time.

Some of the mirrors have been reported at Adichanallur, Basarh, Brahmapuri, Rairh and Taxila.

Only one of them at Taxila (Fig. I. No. 5) has been found with an intact ivory handle, whereas all the other mirrors have been reported without handles.

Most of them available are datable to C. the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.

Rairh[2] has yielded two handled circular bronze mirrors, with recessed face (Fig. I No. 7). The small pointed tang has been soldered to the recessing on the mirrors. Both of them have been dated to the cultural period of Śuṅga-Kuśāṇa times.

Taxila[3] (Fig. I. No. 4) has yielded the finest mirrors, so far known. All of them are found from Śaka-Pārthian levels at Sirkap datable to C. 100 B.C.-

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1 Rao Gopinatha, (*Hindu Iconography*, I, Pt. 1) refers to the manufacture of such mirrors even to-day at Arumala in Travancore. These are polished with such craftsmanship that they do not show any distortion in reflection.

2 Puri K. N., *Excavation at Rairh* (1940), p. 43 ; PL. XX. 15 ; XXI, 14.

3 Marshall J., *Taxila*, 1951, II, pp. 584-85 ; III, 181 F ; 182 b.

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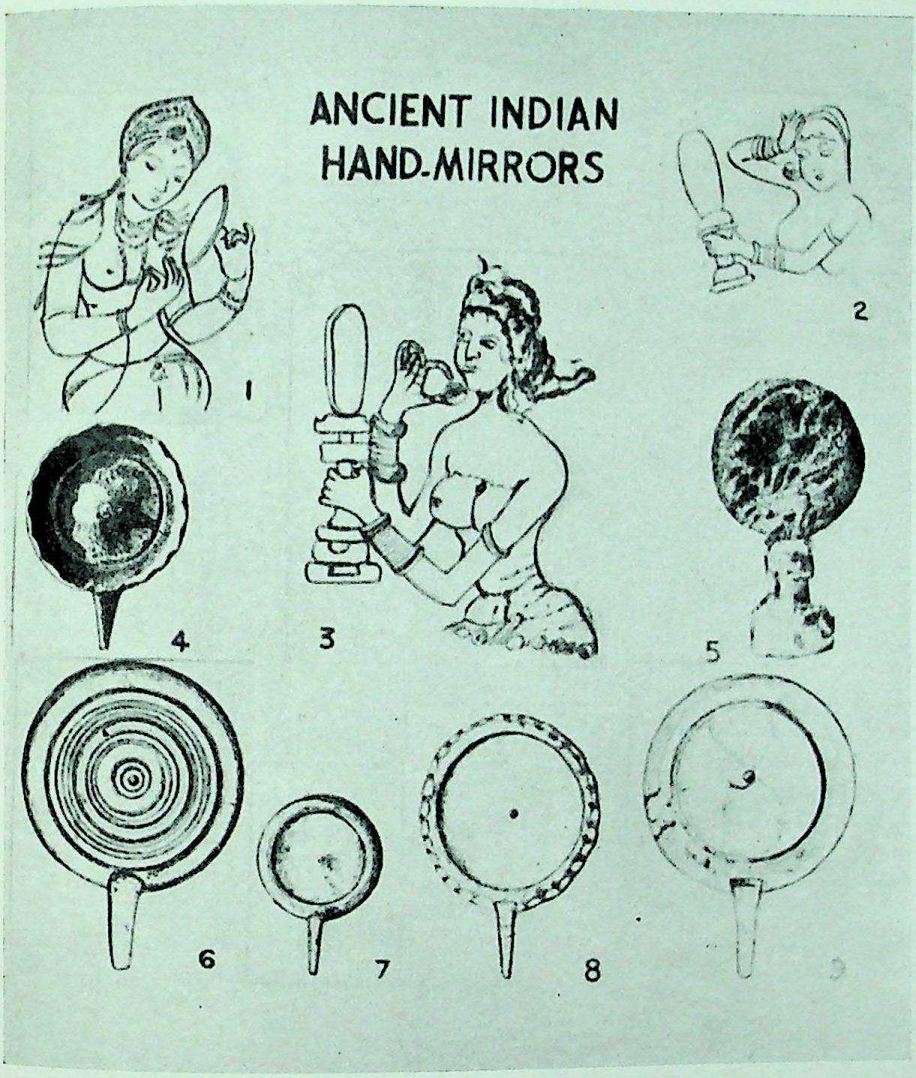

[See Mr. C. Margabandhu's article published on p. 432]

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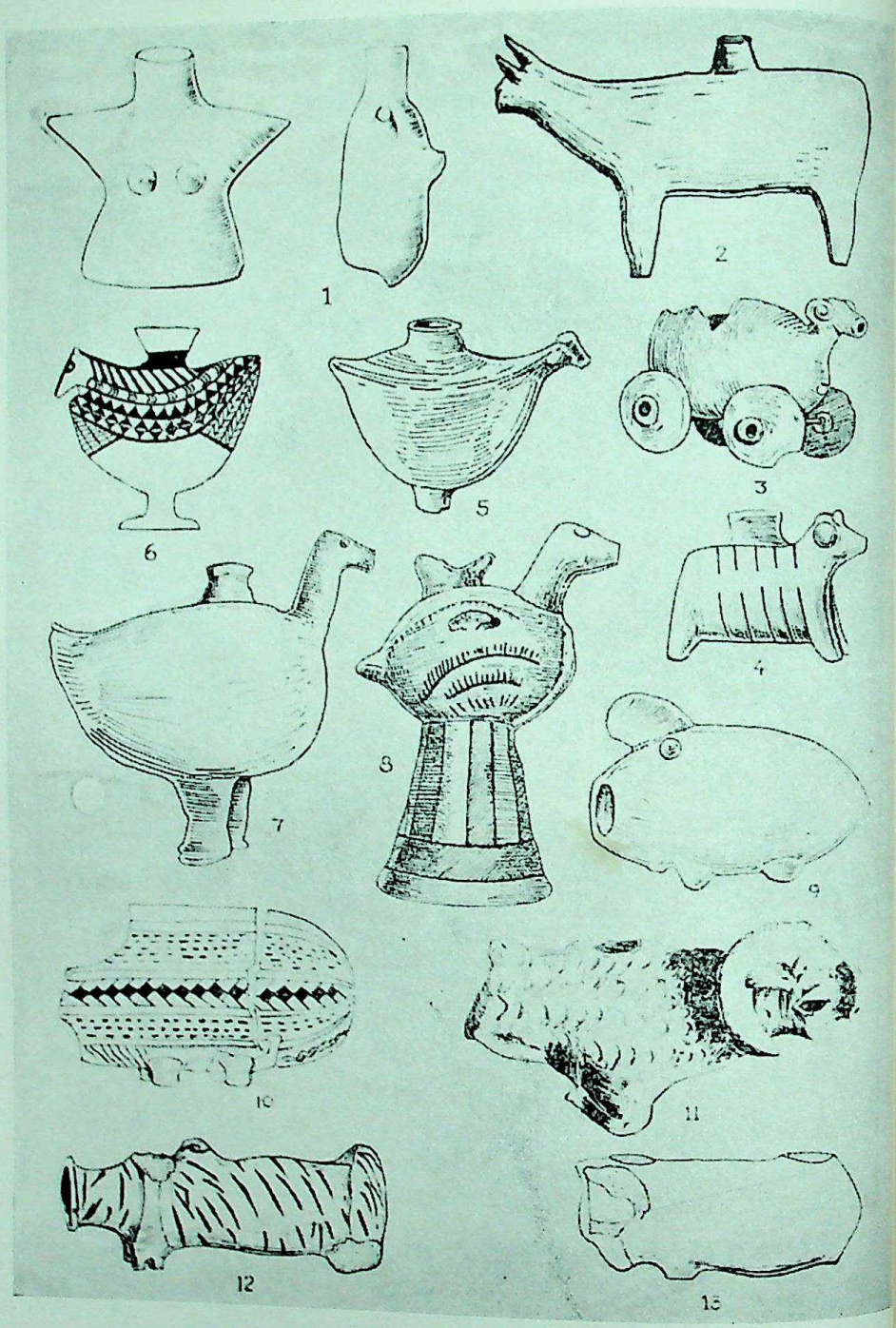

Theriomorphic Vessels in Chalcolithic Maharashtra
[See Mr. Arunkumar's article published on p. 459]

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100 A.D. They are made of copper. Marshall suggests that the mirrors were copies of Western prototypes. But none of the mirrors are decorated with incised or repoussé figurines so often found depicted on Greek mirrors. But a miniature mirror pendant[4] has been found at Sirkap with 2 birds facing each other on the rim which Marshall traces to Greek origin.

Mirrors at Taxila have round rims invariably leaving a raised knob or *Omphalos* at centre. A unique copper mirror[5] (Fig. I. No. 5) has been found with an intact ivory handle. It is likely that the tang has been socketed into the handle. Handles have been decorated with incised bands. Another mirror[6] has a wavy rim all around (Fig. I. No. 4). Similar one[7] said to be of Śuñga date comes from Bulandibagh, Patna.

A number of handles perhaps used for mirrors have been reported from Taxila. Like the metals themselves mirror handles have been reported only at Sirkap datable to C. 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. Marshall suggests that at Taxila mirror was " one of the many things introduced from the Greek orient either by the Greeks or by their successor Śaka-Pārthians ".[8] The handles are of bone and ivory and fall into two types : (1) Those decorated with figure carvings in relief; (2) and those turned on the lathe and decorated with mouldings and incised lines and hatchings.

Carvings in relief[9] include human male and female figurines profusely decorated. A socket hole above was intended to take the tenon of the mirror. Mirrors have not been reported at Taxila after the first century A.D.

Three of the specimens occur in a hoard at Brahmapuri[10] (Kolhapur) datable to the Late Sātavāhana times of C. the first and the second century A.D. All of them are of bronze and bear excellent finish, which testifies to the superb workmanship of the metal craftsmen of the Sātavāhana Deccan. It appears that the surface was polished after fashioning them on lathe. They have been found along with a number of bronze objects of everyday use and with some artistic objects.

One of the mirrors[11] (Fig. I, No. 6) with *Omphalos* at centre has a lively finish. It has been bordered by a wavy rim with a raised knob at centre. The flat tapering handle has been soldered to the rim portion. *Omphalos* is a

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4 Marshall, *op.cit.*, PL. 209 a.
5 *Ibid.*, III. PL. 182, B.
6 *Ibid.*, III. PL. 181, f.
7 cited, *Ibid.*, II, pp. 484-85.
8 Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 658.
9 *Ibid.*, III. PL. 203, k, e, m, n.
10 Khandalawala Karl, ' Brahmapuri, ' *Lalit Kala*, No. 7, 1960, pp. 62-63; PL. XVI, 14, 15, 17
11 *Ibid.*, PL. XVI, 14

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characteristic feature found in Roman metal work of this period and it is quite likely that it was perhaps derived from the earlier articles of Graeco—Roman workmanship. It has been suggested to be made at Alexandria, the nearest workshop for Graeco-Roman objects and was brought by way of trade. Identical one with wavy bordered rim from Sirkap has also been suggested by Marshall as being of Graeco-Roman in origin.

Another one [12] (Fig. I, No. 8) is smaller than the above and it does not have that much better finish. It was suggested to be a local product on the basis of its make and finish.

The third one [13], in addition to *Omphalos* is decorated with a design of concentric rings on its surface. This is a quite typical decoration found in Roman metal ware. It is not clear whether it is an imported object or a locally made one, but the design suggests its extraneous workmanship. Similar one has not been recorded in Indian context elsewhere.

Urn burials at Adichanallur [14] have yielded some excellent specimen though they have not been recorded as mirrors by the excavator. They comprise of five circular bronze mirrors with projecting tangs and central boss, (*Omphalos*) (Fig. I. No. 9). The tangs have been soldered on the rims. They were incorrectly recorded as frying-pans and bronze plaques. All of them have circular beaded rims around. Two of them are identical in shape to those found from Brahmapuri and Rairh. One with *Omphalos* and circular ring at rim recall the shape of Rairh specimen.

A copper mirror has also been reported at Basarh [15] from Mauryan levels. It has been described as ' a circular dish with a handle attached to it and knob at centre '. It is evidently a mirror with *Omphalos* at centre. It is similar in shape to the Brahmapuri and Adichanallur specimens.

All the above evidence suggests that handled mirror of copper and bronze was an important item of toilet equipment in use during C. 200 B.C.-200 A.D. Most of them were locally manufactured, but so far no metallographic analysis has been made to know of their actual place of manufacture, source of metal etc. Marshall [16] suggests that mirrors with *Omphalos* at centre found at Taxila (Sirkap) represent original copies of Graeco-Roman prototypes. At the same time similar mirrors as those of Sirkap have been reported in rather earlier levels for instance at Adichanallur and Basarh, incidentally suggesting their local manufacture.

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12 *Ibid.*, PL. XVI 17

13 Khandalawala Karl, *Lalit Kala*, 7 160, PL. XVI, 15.

14 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-03, pp. 128-29, figs. 12, 13.

15 *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 99, fig. 15 ;
Codrington, K. De. B., " Ancient Indian Hand Mirrors ", *Man*, XXIX. 1929, pp. 170-71.

16 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 584.

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Supporting evidence also comes from contemporary sculptures of this period. Scenes of toilet depicting ladies holding mirrors and adjusting ornaments and arranging coiffure are a very familiar theme in the Early School of Indian art. It seems there is a great charm in a lady reviewing her features in a *mukura* or mirror; so fascinating a study is the lady, mirror in hand, that it has become a motif by itself. This type of panels are seen particularly in sculptures from Amarāvatī,[17] Bārhut,[18] Mathurā,[19] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[20] Sanchi[21] etc.

In Mathura[22] sculpture, Bhuteswar supplies an excellent example of a yakshi in that attitude Amaravati[23] has also lovely sculptures to illustrate this self-apprisement and one of the scenes show a lady carefully arranging her curls and *sīmanta* holding a mirror in hand (Fig. I, No. 2). At Sanchi, in one of the gateway panels, a fascinating scene has been depicted having a lover helping his mistress with her toilet. She is seated in *āsana* holding a handled mirror in her left hand.

This motif is also seen depicted in Begram[24] ivories. One of the finest ivory coffers[25] has 2 scenes depicted divided by a line; one consists of a lady or mistress playing with a parrot, while the female attendant looks on; in the second a mistress is holding a handled mirror looking while applying cosmetics to her face; the lady attendant helps her by holding a cosmetic box in hand. The mirror is complete with ivory handle prepared in an artistic manner. (Fig. I, No. 3). The metal portion is oval in shape. Another identical mirror[26] is also seen depicted on a *toraṇa* arch from Begram.

Mirrors have also been found depicted in later times in Ajantā[27] (Fig. I, No. 1) paintings. The shape of the mirror is a little different. It has no vertical handle but has a cordinal knob behind pierced to take a ring of cord or perhaps

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17 Sivaramamurti C., *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, PL. IX, 17.

18 Barua B. M., *Barhut* (1937), PT. III, PL. LIX, 68; Cunningham A, *Bharhut* (1962, Reprint), PL, XXIV, 4.

19 Vogel J. Ph., " The Mathura School of Sculpture ", *ASI. AR.* 1906-07, PL, LI, (A).

20 Longhurst, ' The Buddhist Antiquities from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa ', *Memoirs of the ASI*, No. 54 (1938) PLS. XXVIII. (b), XXXII, (a).

21 Marshall J. H. and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Calcutta, Part II, PL. 64, C.

22 Vogel J. ph., *ASI. AR.* 1106-07, PL. LI (a).

23 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

24 Moti Chandra, ' Ancient Indian ivories ', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, VI (1957-59). pp. 31-36; Jeanine Auboyer, ' Ancient Indian ivories from Begram, Afghanistan ', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XVI (1948), pp. 34-36; fig. 73-75.

25 Benjamin Roland, *Art in Afghanistan, objects from the Kabul Museum*, Penguin (1971), PL. 23, pp. 13-17.

26 Benjamin Roland, *op. cit.*, PL. 43.

27 Codrington K. De. B. *Man*, XXIX, 1929, pp. 170-71; Sivaramamurti C. *op. cit.*, PL. I, 3b.

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a string was attached for handling. This type of mirror was continued in fashion for a long period even in medieval times.[28]

From the above evidences a few facts emerge out very clearly. That the mirrors found from excavations and those depicted on the contemporary sculptures are similar and perhaps one and the same. The sculptural depiction, and those carved on the ivory caskets and coffers along with mirrors, cosmetic boxes containing unguents, perfumes etc. reveal how much attention and care was bestowed by the ladies of the Early Historic Period in beautifying themselves. The shape of the mirror has remained unchanged throughout the period of study of four to five centuries which itself indicates that the people shared among themselves a common cultural heritage nurtured by tradition. Their geographical distribution right from Adichanallur (Dist. Tirunelveli), Tamil Nadu in south to Taxila in the north-west strikingly illustrates that this common cultural heritage was transmitted directly by movement of people or it was a case of a gradual and generalised cultural diffusion by trade or by contact with neighbouring settlements of cities and towns by multiple channels. This is quite clearly evidenced by the fact of identical depiction in ivory caskets and coffers found in Begram, Afghanistan. Only Marshall suggests a few of the mirrors found at Taxila as imported from the Graeco—Roman world. At the same time identical ones datable to earlier levels occur at Adichanallur, Basarh etc. testifying to their indigenous origin. It is not impossible that some of them would have come from the Greeco-Roman workshops, possibly the nearest source of it will be Alexandria, which was an entrepot and rendezvous of international trade during this period of three or four centuries. Much more evidence is needed to suggest anything about their foreign origin. However, this archaeological and sculptural coincidence of the mirrors, their shape and manufacture is quite striking and in a way suggest the common heritage and cultural continuity of these simple, yet, essential objects of everyday use, right through the Early Historic period. *

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28 Dipakranjan Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 175-6; This form of mirror is especially associated with China, tangled or handled mirrors being common all over the East in bronze, brass and steel in Muhammadan times and notably in Java at a period closely succeeding that of Ajanta.

* I am thankful to Prof. S. B. Deo, M.A.,Ph.D., Head, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Deccan College, Poona for his constant encouragement and many suggestions. I am also thankful to Sarvashri J. S. Dubey and V. L. Sonar, Draughtmen respectively of the Excavations Branch, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur and Western Circle, Baroda for drawing the accompanying illustration and to Shri D. S. Sagar for typing the paper.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN SHAHAJAHANPUR DISTRICT

By

V. D. Misra & B. B. Misra, Allahabad

The district of Shahajahanpur, lying between the parallels of 27° 35′ and 28° 29′ latitude and 79° 37′ and 80° 23′ east longitude, occupies the south-east corner of the Rohilkhand Division of Uttar Pradesh. It is bounded on the east by the Kheri, on the south by the Hardoi and Farrukhabad, and on the west by the Badaun and Bareilly districts and on the north by the Bisalpur and Puranpur Tehsils of the Pilibhit district.[1]

The early history of the district is wrapped in obscurity. 'Hardly any district of the province is more disappointing to the historian than Shahajahanpur[2] for the reference in extant works are extraordinarily meagre, while the traditions of the people themselves are unusually vague and formless.' The legend of king Vena is prevalent in the district but about its historical content nothing definite can be said. It appears that the tradition pertaining to this king lies in the domain of folk-lore and not in that of history.[3] Being situated in the Rohilkhand division, the district must have formed part of the ancient *Pañcāla Janapada*. 'Mitra' coins have been found in good number from the site of Mati in this region[4]. The main tract of the district seems to have fallen outside the routes taken by the Chinese pilgrims, though suggestion is made that Hi-lo of the accounts of Fa-Hian should be taken as Gola Raipur of the Pawayan Tahsil.[5] Among the prominent sites of the district, the mounds of Gola Raipur (28° 2′ North and 79° 59′ E, on the right bank of the Khanaut), Khera Bajhera (28° 2′ N and 79° 33′ E, in Tilhar sub-division), Jalalabad (27° 43′ N and 79° 40′ E, the head quarter of Jalalabad sub-division), Mati (29° 24′ N and 80° 17′ E, in the Pawayan sub-division) and finally Nigohi (28° 6′ N and 79° 52′ E in the Tilhar sub-division of the district) had already drawn the attention of the explorers in the 19th or in the opening decade of the present century. In this paper an attempt has been made to bring out the result of explorations conducted in the district in the recent past.

II

Shahajahanpur has not been able to draw the attention of the scholarly world to its rich and variegated archaeological objects to the extent they deserve

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1 Nevill, H. R., *Gazetteer of Shahajahanpur District* (1910), p. 1.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 131.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

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The sites explored and the materials obtained have not been the result of any systematic planning on the part of the investigators but have been done in a casual manner. The objects brought to light so far constitute four separate groups i.e. the Copper Hoards, the Painted Grey Ware, the Northern-Black Polished Ware and the Post-N.B.P. objects.

1. *The Copper Hoards* :—The district of Shahajahanpur seems to have played a leading role in connection with the mysterious copper hoards of the Gaṅgā valley. Up till now these objects are recorded from four sites, viz. Dhaka[6] (1917) in Tilhar sub-division, Sarthauli[7] (1921), Pargana Kant, Indilapur[8] (1944), P.O. Mundia and Baharia[9] (1966) in Jalalabad sub-division. Whereas the hoard of Dhaka comprises five shouldered celts with square butt, Sarthauli has yielded five swords (?), a harpoon and a hatchet or Paraśu-like object. From the site of Indilapur comes a solitary celt occupying an intermediary position between the flat and shouldered types of celts. These objects have been lodged in the State Museum, Lucknow, and have been fully dealt with by Prof. B. B. Lal, the former Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, in one of his illustrated papers,[10] and need no further detailed comment.

The site of Baharia, situated at a distance of 51.5 kms from Shahajahanpur in a south-westerly direction in the Jalalabad sub-division, was brought to light, when two copper implements, a harpoon and a new type of sword, were discovered from it by some labourer in course of digging the earth for preparing bricks.

The harpoon (Fig. 1), measuring 27.5 cm., is well preserved and is a fine specimen of its kind. It has a prominent medial rib and tapering blade broken only at the tip-end. The middle portion of the implement has two pairs of incurved barbs. The junction of the barbed portion and the tang is marked by the presence of knobs, the right one being perforated, evidently for passing a cord. The object was made by casting.

The sword (Fig. 2), measuring 45.58 cm. in length, represents in itself a new type altogether in the assemblage of the copper implements discovered so far. Like the harpoon described above, the sword has also a prominent medial rib and tapering blade, the butt-end of which has been turned into a pair of barbs, flat in section, near the junction of blade and hilt. At the end of the hilt, there is a hook on one side only purpose of which was presumably to afford a

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6 *Ancient India*, No. 7, p. 27.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

9 Two copper objects—sword and harpoon from the site were presented to the Kauśāmbī Museum of Allahabad University by Sri Tandon Bal Krishna of Shahajahanpur.

10 Lal, B. B., " Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem " in *Ancient India*, No. 7, pp. 20-39.

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stronger grip. The specimen is undoubtedly cast, though there is some evidence of subsequent hammering on the hilt and hook. Incidentally, here it may be pointed out that the present sword differs from the well-known antennae swords of the copper-hoard complex in two vital points. In the case of the present sword as stated earlier, there are two barbs, one each on either side of the blade, at the butt-end, but in the antennae swords, these barbs are not noticed. Secondly, the hilt of antennae sword posssess a distinguishing feature; 'it bifurcates like the antenna of an insect.' But in the Baharia sword, this antennae portion is missing altogether. In its place, there has been provided a hook for facilitating the grip.

As is the case of the copper-hoards of the other sites, both in the upper Gaṅgā basin and outside, the implements of the Shahajahanpur district are chance-discoveries. Recently Dr. V. N. Misra of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, explored Dhaka, Sarthauli and Indilapur, but he could not find at these places any object which could be placed on par with the copper-hoards in point of time.[11] The site of Baharia was visited by the present writers at the instance of Prof. G. R. Sharma. We found a few sherds of the famous ochre-coloured pottery from the vicinity of the provenance of the copper implements. As no other pottery, ascribable to any known culture, could be traced at the site, it was presumed to be a single-culture site.

In order to ascertain the nature of the deposit and to establish the relationship, if any, between the copper-hoard and the ochre-coloured pottery, a small trial trench measuring 1.21 × 1.21 metres was laid out to the east of the find-spot of the copper-hoards. The natural soil was struck at a depth of 1 metre. The total habitational deposit was seen to be composed of 3 layers. Layer (1) having a thickness of 25.4 cms. consisted of hard brownish clay. Layer (2) with a thickness of 45.72 cms. was pale brownish in colour and sandy in character. The third layer imperceptibly merging with the natural soil underneath was dark brownish in colour and had a thickness of 30.48 cms. As copper-implements were reported to have been found at a depth of 91.4 cms. below the present walking surface, Layer (3) would have been its horizon (Fig. 3).

A few pot-sherds, mostly pale red and with a tendency of being easily rubbed off, were found distributed in all the layers, though very sporadically. The dark ochrous slip was visible on a few sherds only. The majority of sherds, being small and rolled, did not help in constructing the shapes of the pots. However, a few pieces had their rims intact. Of the recognized shapes mention may be made of (1) vases with beaded outrim and concave neck[12] (2) vases

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11 *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1965-66 (Cyclostyled copy) p. I-88

12 Similar types in the ochre-coloured pottery are also reported from Ambakheri, an O.C.P. site in Saharanpur district. See "Problem of the ochre-coloured Pottery" in *Potteries*

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presumably with globular body, flaring rim, a shallow depression on the interior and short constricted neck [13], (3) vase with splayed out featureless rim [14] (4) vase with outturned externally beaded rim [15] (Fig. 4), and finally (5) the shallow bowl [15A]. (Fig. 5).

The above account demonstrates in no uncertain terms that among the sites yielding the copper-hoards, Baharia occupies a significant position and is important in more than one way. First it adds a new type to the copper hoard assemblage known so far. Secondly, like the sites of Rajapur-Parsu [16], Bisauli [17], Bahadarabad [18], Nasirpur [19], Baragaon [20] and Saipai [21] it has also yielded copper-hoards as well as the ochre-coloured pottery from the same spot, thus strengthening the conclusion that they are products of one and the same people who had inhabited the upper-Gaṅgā valley before the advent of the Aryans on the scene.

II *The Painted Grey Ware Sites:*

When the portions of the Panjab, Northern Rajasthan and Western Uttar Pradesh were occupied by the Painted Grey Ware people, the district of Shahajahanpur was not a *terra-in cognita*. Though the district has not been explored systematically, it seems to have considerable archaeological potentiality so far as the Painted Grey Ware period is concerned. In recent explorations the sherds of the Painted Grey Ware collected from Jaunra [22] 3 km. south-west of Dhaka, the copper-hoard yielding site, Jalalabad, 35.4 kms. from Shahajahanpur in south-westerly direction, Noorpur in the vicinity of the Copper-Hoard site of Baharia and Nigohi on the left bank of the Kamua river at a distance of 24.14 kms. from Shahajahanpur on the east side of the Shahajahanpur-Pilibhit Road. While the first named site was explored by Dr. V. N. Misra of the Deccan

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In Ancient India (ed.) 1969, Fig. 1, No. 2 and its variants and also Gaur, R. C. "The ochre coloured pottery from Atranjikhera and its significance" in the same. Fig. 1, No. 2 and 3 (Vases). See also *Purātattva* S. Fig. 5, No. 4 (Baragaon); Fig. 14, No. 24 (Bahadarabad); Fig. 17, No. 5 (Noh).

13 *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, Fig. 5 Nos. I and II; *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, fig. 11, Nos. 1 and 4 and also Fig. 14, No. 3; *Purātattva*, No. 5, Fig. 14, No. 22; Fig. 17, Nos. 5-6; Fig. 21, Nos. 11-13.

14 Gaur, R. C., "The ochre coloured pottery from Atranjikhera and its significance" in *Potteries In Ancient India* (ed.) 1969 fig. 1, No. 1 (Vases).

15. *Ibid.* Fig. 1, No. 3 (Vases); *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, Fig. 11 No. 2; *Purātattva* No. 5, Fig. 14 Nos. 20, 24 (Bahadarabad).

15A *Purātattva* No. 5, Fig. 6 No. 11 (Atranjikhera); Fig. 14 No. 28 (Bahadarabad).

16 Lal, B. B., *Op. Cit.*, p. 36.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

18 *Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 90.

19 I.A.R. 1965-66 (MSS. copy) p. I.80.

20 I.A.R. 1963-64, pp. 56-57.

21 Lal, B. B. in *Purātattva*, No. 5, pp. 46-49.

22 I.A.R. 1965-66, p. I. 89 (MSS. copy).

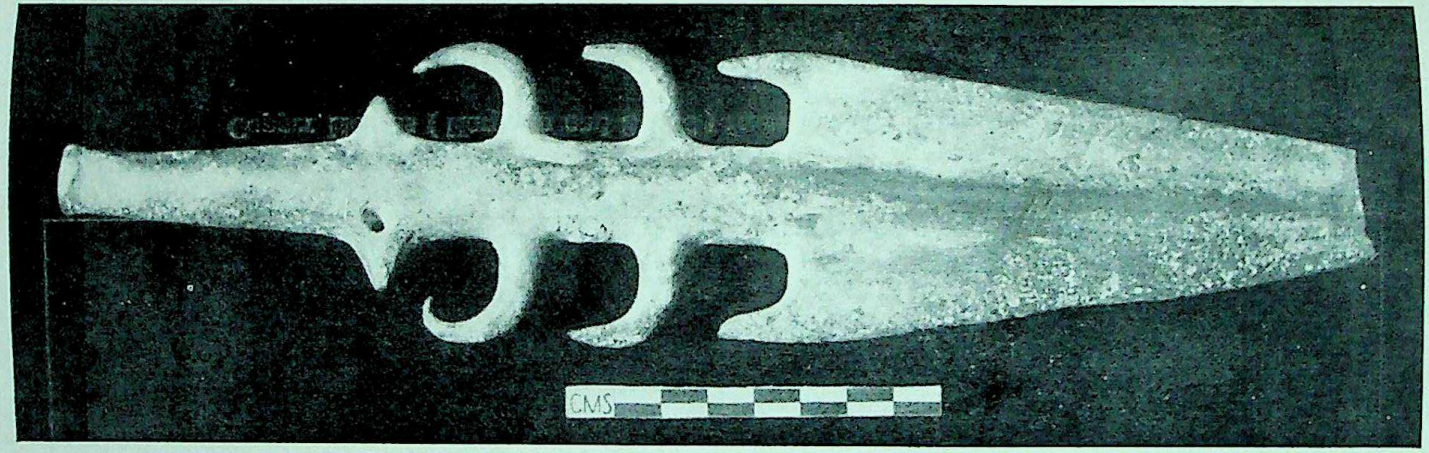

Fig. 1
Copper Harpoon (Baharia, Shahajahanpur, U.P.)

Fig. 2
Copper Sword from Baharia, Shahajahanpur (U.P.)

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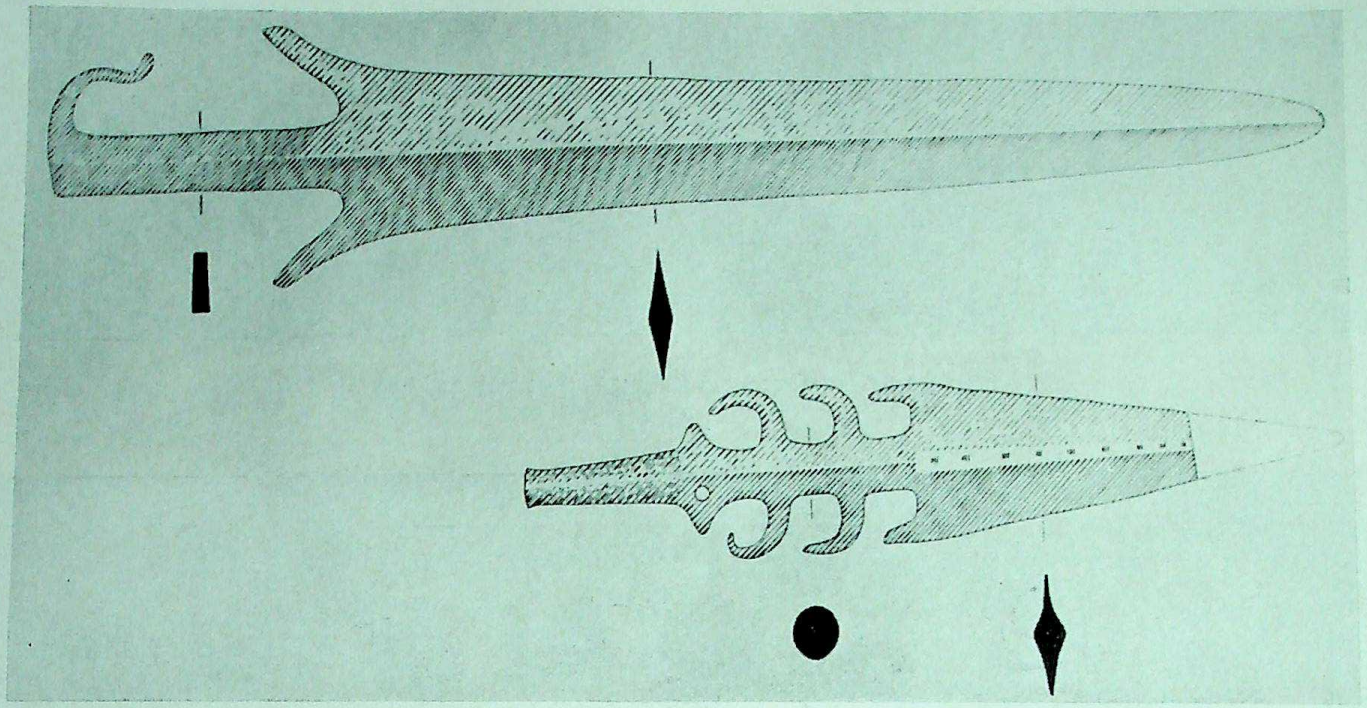

Fig. 5
Copper Hoards (Harpoon and Sword) from Baharia, Shahajahanpur, U.P.

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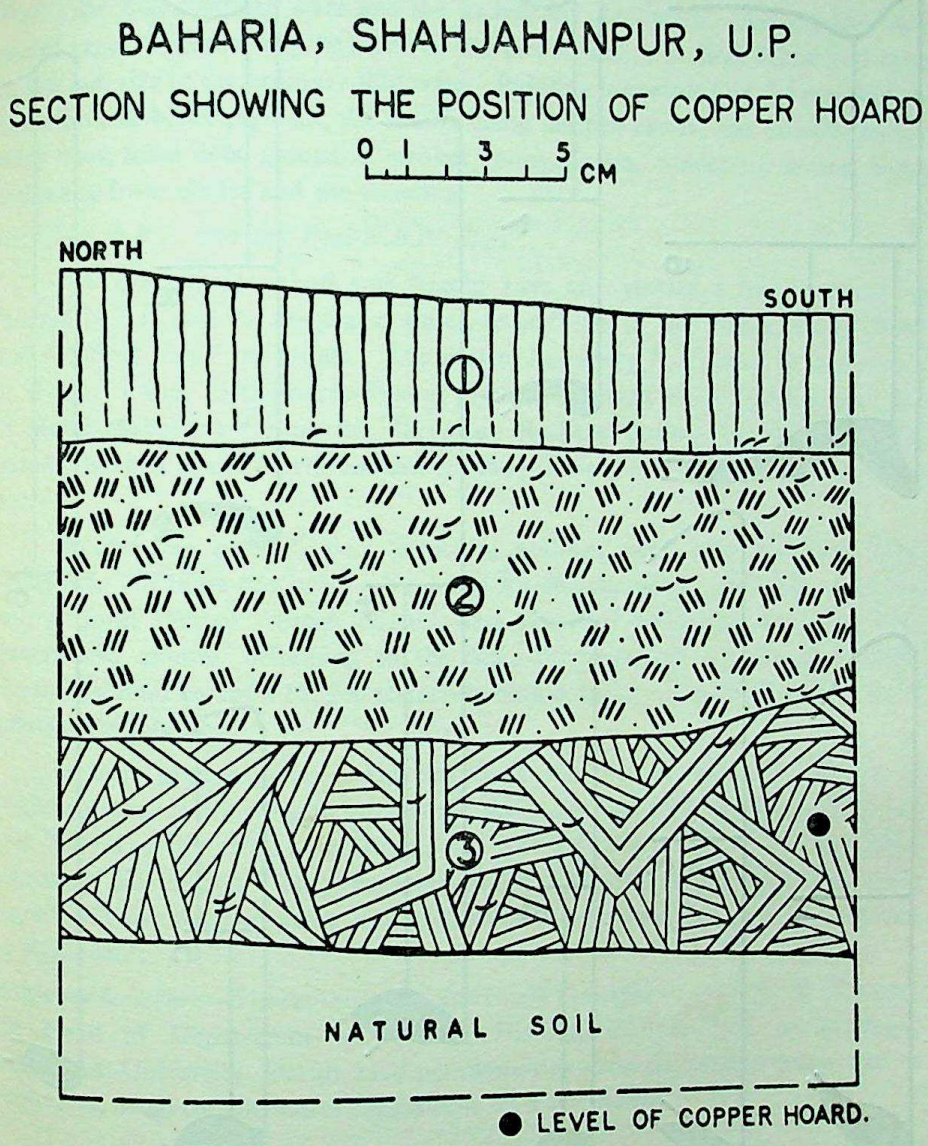

Fig. 3

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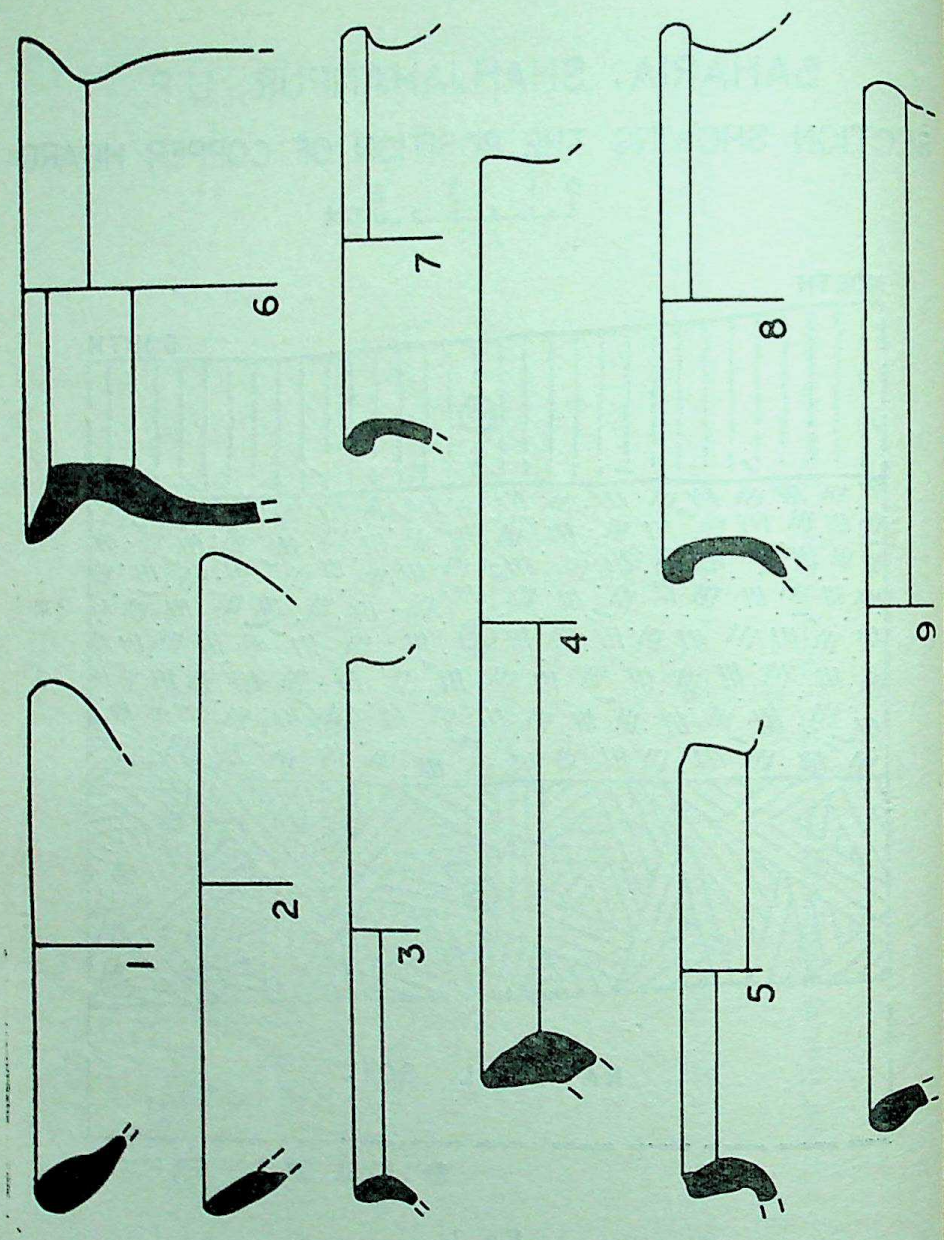

Fig. 4
Pottery from Baharia (Shahajahanpur, U.P.)

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College, the latter three sites were searched by us. The pottery assemblage comprised of the Grey Ware, both plain as well as painted, the Black-and-Red Ware, the Black-slipped ware and the associated Red ware. Among the recognized types, mention may be made of the bowls, dishes in Grey fabric and vases of medium size in the ordinary Red ware. Painting is executed on the grey surface of the pots in black pigment, the motifs being the rim-bands, the parallel bands, wavy lines, filled dots, groups of strokes, loops, circles, concentric arches, loops eminating from circles and the swastika.

III. *The N.B.P. and the Post-N.B.P. Sites* :

The sites of Jalalabad and Nigohi have also yielded a few sherds of the famous N.B.P. and the associated wares, in addition to the Painted Grey Ware and the Post-N.B.P. materials. The sites of Sawaneka,[23] situated at a distance of about 1.6 km. to the north-west of the copper-hoard site of Baharia and that of Matin-Mahadeva[24] near the Sheramau Railway station, on the Lucknow-Bareilly Branch of the North-Eastern Railway, have yielded relics of the *Kuṣāṇa* age.

Besides the pottery, two terracotta sealings were also obtained from Jalalabad. Of these one bears a legend in *Kuṣāṇa* character, while the other has only a floral symbol. From Nigohi were recorded terracotta figurines, both human and animal, belonging to the *Śaka*-Parthian and the Gupta periods. From Jalalabad comes a broken terracotta mould depicting the hind portion of an animal, possibly lion.

It now appears from what has been said above that the district of Shahajahanpur is not without interest for the archaeologists. Sites like Jalalabad and Nigohi easily attract the attention of the explorers even on account of their imposing dimensions. They enshrine in their bossoms relics of the past covering about two thousand years, and excavation at any of the big sites will certainly be significant.

Acknowledgement :—The authors are extremely thankful to Prof. G. R. Sharma, the Head of Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University for his kind permission to write the present paper and to Prof. J. S. Negi for his useful suggestions on a few points.

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23 The site was explored by the writers at the instance of Prof. Sharma G. R.

24 I.A.R.—1965-66 p. I. 90 (MSS. copy).

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SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATION OF NṚSIṂHA INCARNATION IN THE TEMPLES OF THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD IN RAJASTHAN

By

NEELIMA VASHISHTHA, Jaipur

Among all the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the incarnations of Narasiṃha, Varāha and Vāmana—Trivikrama form one group of the sculptures, where the dramatic action is depicted in stone. These are the most favourite *Vaiṣṇava* narratives of the sculptors of the post-Gupta period, and invariably find prominent place on the exterior walls of the sanctum of *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* temples. They are generally placed on the principal niches of the three exterior sides of the temple.

In the sculpture, usually, the final moment of the narrative, i.e., the climax of the theme, the stage when the god has achieved the purpose for which he has incarnated himself, is represented. The depiction of Narasiṃha legend in sculpture generally has one type of theme, where the Narasiṃha is shown tearing off the intestines of Hiraṇyakaśipu with his two hands, keeping him on his lap, while the remaining two hands hold weapons—*cakra* and *gadā*.[1] This traditional method of presenting the legend in stone was prevalent during the post-Gupta period. All the iconographic[2] and *Āgama* texts[3] prescribe the depiction of this very stage, where the god is shown having achieved the purpose of killing the demon. In the representation of other incarnations also, the culminating moment of the narrative is carved, e.g., Varāha as rescuing the earth, Vāmana in measuring the universe, and Narasiṃha killing the demon.

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1 The Nṛsiṃha image has been classified into various forms as *Kevala Narasiṃha*, *Sthūṇa Narasiṃha*, etc., according to the number of hands with weapons held in them, and the *Dhruvabreas*. See also, Rao, T. A. G. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, 1914, Appendix pp. 17-49.

2 According to the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Narasiṃha* should be carved having only two hands and a fierce face of a lion with long tusks and tearing off the breast of the demon with his two hands. Cf. *Rūpamaṇḍana*, III, 25. *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* in the chapters on iconography of images also describe the *Narasiṃha* as tearing off the breast of the demon and taking out the intestines. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, he should be shown in *Ālīḍha* pose, adorned with all the ornaments with a *prabhāmaṇḍala* of his manes, and devoid of weapons. Vide, *Agnipurāṇa*, Ch. 49, Vs. 4; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 78/2 Vs. 2-13.

3 The *Āgama* text generally describe *Narasiṃha* as having the face of a lion with all other ornaments and attributes of Viṣṇu. According to the *Āgama* texts, quoted by T.A.G. Rao, he should be shown with many hands and seated with his consorts *Lakṣmī* and *Pṛthvī* and the weapons in human form like other images of Viṣṇu. In these images, he is recognised only by his lion face. Only *Śilparatna* prescribes that he should be carved in the action of tearing off the stomach of the demon. Vide, Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pt. II, Appendix, pp. 32-35.

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Not only with the narratives of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, but also of other gods and goddesses like Śiva and Durgā, the same method of representation was adopted by sculptors as was prescribed by the canons of iconography. Depicting the same theme in stone according to the iconographic texts again and again in the same manner, left no scope for the artists' creative genius and individuality. The *Paurāṇic* themes on the other hand had more scope for imagination and creative genius of the artist. Therefore, in sculpture as well as in painting, the artist from the very beginning was more attracted towards the depiction of the whole narrative than one final moment of the narrative. The same is the case with the theme of Narasiṃha. Though the iconographic texts prescribe for the artist, the depiction of the final moment of victory over the demon, the *Paurāṇic* story of *Narasiṃha* attracted the artist. Accordingly, *Narasiṃha* was also carved as wrestling with the demon, while Prahlāda was shown asking the god for his forgiveness.

This practice of representing the whole legend in the limited space of a single niche was also followed in the depiction of Vāmana incarnation and other *Saṃhāramūrtis* of Durgā and Śiva. It was not a general practice in Northern India, but there are some examples from the temples of Rajasthan, where the *Paurāṇic* narrative is represented. In the *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* temples of Rajasthan, we find the examples pertaining to this method of representation.

In the Ambikā temple of Jagat[4] (Udaipur), the depiction of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in different forms explains that it was the *Paurāṇic* narrative and the imagination of the sculptor which decided the sculptures, not the iconographic texts only. Here, the goddess is shown fighting the demon in human form. In another example from the same place, *Mahiṣa* is carved only in animal form, the effort and struggle on the part of the goddess to conquer the demon is clearly represented.

In the same manner the depiction of *Narasiṃha* also deviates from the general tradition of sculptures of the *Narasiṃha*. One example of this nature hails from the *Vaiṣṇava* temple of Jhalarapatan (Jhalawar, Rajasthan). Here in the southern principal *niche* of the temple, which is locally known as *Sat Saheli Mandir*, the *Narasiṃha* incarnation is represented. (See, *Figure No. 1*). In this sculpture *Hiraṇyakaśipu*, contrary to the traditional manner, is depicted combating with the *Nṛsiṃha* in an offensive manner. This temple is situated in the centre of the new town which was built with the debris of the old city of Chandravati. When it was found by the Jhalas in 1796, the temple with some

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4 Sundara Rajan K. V., "A Devi Cult Nucleus at Jagat (Rajasthan)", *Vishveshvarānanda Indological Journal* (*Pánjab*), Vol. I (1), 1963, pp. 130-40 ; Agrawala R. C. "Devi Cult at Jagat : A Review", *Vishveshvarānanda Indological Journal*, Vol. III (2), 1965, pp. 282-86.

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hutments of the Bhils around it, was already there.[5] It seems that many additions have been made to the temple. The main *sanctum* and the *śikhara* are old and may be assigned to the latter part of the 10th century on the basis of the coins and inscriptions[6] which were found in the new city of Jhalarapatan by Tod,[7] Bhandarkar[8] and others. These inscriptions date from 7th century to 11th century A D. Though there is no inscription at present in this temple but from these finds and on the basis of style of the sculptures, it can safely be ascribed to the latter part of the 10th century. Of course, the sanctum, the *śikhara* and the *antarāla* were built in the 10th century but the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* with its carved *toraṇa*, pillars and entrance doorways are later additions of early 12th century, the terrace and remaining additions are of much later period. They are probably of the 18th and 19th centuries. At present, an image of Jain *Tīrthaṅkara* Padmanābha has been installed and is worshipped by the Jaina community of Jhalawar.

The depiction of *Narasiṃha* in peculiar form though very rare is not an original creation of the artist of Jhalawar only. Two other reliefs of this type where the artist has deviated from the traditional canons are from Ellora and Dadikkombu (Near Dindigal) in South India.[9] These were published by T.A.G. Rao in his voluminous work on the iconography of the *Hindu* deities.

In these two sculptures, the demon is shown defending the attack of *Narasiṃha*, who is tightly gripping the sword-carrying hand of the demon. But the Jhalawar relief attracts one's attention by the novelty of its representation. Here the demon is combating with *Narsiṃha* in a desperate effort to defend himself. He is literally wrestling with the god. Another example of this type hails from Manora (District Maihar, Madhya Pradesh). R. D. Banerjee assigns this sculpture to the 10th century A.D.[9A] It shows the same characteristics as mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

The representation of this rare type of *Nṛsiṃha mūrti* was based on the *Paurāṇic* stories. Though the iconographic texts do not prescribe this type of image, the stories of *Purāṇas* were quite popular among the masses. The

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5 Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in Punjab and Rajputana in 1883.84*, A.S.I., XXIII, Calcutta, p. 130.

6 Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. II and XXIII, p. 264.

7 Tod, J. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Reprint, 1971, Vol. III, pp. 1787-89.

8 Bhandarkar, *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1904-05, and 1905-06, pp. 32 and 56.

9 Rao, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV and XLV.

9A Banerjee, R. D. *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, Memoirs, A.S.I., 23, Pl. XXVIII (b).

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Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa[10] and *Matsya Purāṇa*[11] prescribe that in this type of image the god and the demon could also be shown fighting with their legs interlocked, the *Narasiṃha* should appear as being repeatedly attacked by the tired demon, who should hold sword and shield in his two hands.[12] In comparison with the Ellora relief, it lacks expressiveness and the defiant mood of the demon, but it suggests the energy and vigorous action on the part of the demon.

The presence of this relief in the Jhalawar temple is not an exception. There are other examples also which confirm the presence of this type of depiction in sculpture. In the *Sās temple* at the group of *Sās-Bahū* temples of Nāgdā (Udaipur), on the pillar of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and the doorframe of the *garbhagṛha*, the same theme has been represented in the similar manner. These temples are ascribed to the late 10th century A.D., on the basis of inscriptions found from this place.[13] Here, they are depicted in miniature niches carved on the pillars, while in the Jhalawar temple it occupies one of the principal niches of the exterior of the temple.

Other example hails from the *Nīlakaṇṭha* temple near Alwar in a small village known as Garh, datable to the early part of the 9th century A.D.[14] The sculpture, which is set up in one of its southern niche, shows that *Narasiṃha* with his two hands has lifted up the demon by his legs and the other two hands are tearing off the back of the *Hiraṇyakaśipu*, the remaining four hands hold the usual attributes of *Viṣṇu*, i.e., mace, wheel, conch-shell and lotus. *Prahlāda* is also shown in the corner as worshipping the god. Another sculpture depicting the same theme in a more vigorous manner also comes from the same place. It was found in the ruins of another temple near *Nīlakaṇṭha*, and at present it is stored in the compound of the *Nīlakaṇṭha* temple. This sculpture shows *Narasiṃha* with ten hands, holding in his six hands an *akṣamālā*, a *pāśa*, a *cakra*, a *gadā*, and *śaṅkh*, respectively from lower right to lower left, the object in one hand is broken, with the remaining four hands he is holding the legs of *Hiraṇya-kaśipu* and tearing him from his back. He is shown crushing the five-hooded serpent with his one foot, like the *Varāha* images. It signifies that he has won

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10 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Shri Venkatesvara Publishers, Bombay, V.S. 1963, 11, 3, Ch. 5, Vs. 26-29.

11 *Matsya Purāṇa*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1972, Ch. 260, Vs. 31-35.

12 Banerjea, J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1956, p. 415.

13 The fragmentary stone inscriptions of V.S. 718 and V.S. 1083 are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. See, Agrawal, R. C. " Nāgdā ke Sās Bahū Mandiron kī Mahattvapūrṇa Pratimāye ", (Hindi), *Shodha Patrika*, Vol. XIII (4), 1963, pp. 241-249.

14 The fragmentary inscriptions on the images of V.S. 919, V.S. 979, V.S. 1010 and a donatory long insription of V.S. 1016 have been found from this place. See, *Indian Archeology—A Review*, 1959-60 and 1961-62; *E.I.*, III, p. 264.

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the nether world of demon. The demon is also shown struggling for his existence, he has thrust his hand in the mouth of the lion (See, *Fig. No. 2*).

The presence of these sculptures of mediaeval period also show that though canons of iconography and *Paurāṇic* texts had limited the scope of expression, the creative genius of the artist was expressed in different ways. This also poses a problem before those who hold the view that after the Gupta period the iconoplastic forms were mechanised and deteriorated because of the fixation of the iconography. It also appears that the motif was the result of art-contacts with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* traditions through Madhya Pradesh.

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THE DATE OF KHĀRAVELA

By
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The date of Khāravela, the great king of Kaliṅga, has become a subject of keen controversy during the last more than a century. His Hāthīgumphā Cave inscription is our only source of information for determining it. It is, however, in a very bad state of preservation. Hence scholars have widely differed from one another in its reading and interpretation. It is proposed to concentrate here on a few passages in it and thereby to fix approximately the date of the king who caused it to be incised.

It is now admitted by all that the inscription contains no date of any era.[1] We have, therefore, to rely mainly on the synchronisms of the rulers mentioned in it to arrive at an approximate date. The following synchronisms require to be considered in this connection : (1) Khāravela and Sātakaṇī ; (2) Khāravela and Bahasatimita and (3) Khāravela and the Yavana (Greek) king Dimita. We shall also have to consider how far the determined approximate date agrees with the statement in line 6 that Khāravela brought into the city from the road of Tanasuliya the canal excavated by King Nanda three centuries (or a hundred and three years) before.

Of the three synchronisms mentioned above the second, viz., that of Khāravela and Bahasatimita is of utmost importance and would yield a more or less definite result. So we shall consider it first.

(1) Synchronism of Khāravela and Bahasatimita—Lines 11-14 are as follows :—

बारसमे वसे.....सहसेहि वितासयति उतरापथराजानो.....मागधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं गंगाय पाययति [।*] मागधं च राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति [।*]

Uttarāpatha is evidently used here in the general sense of North India and not in that of the country north of Pṛthūdaka (Pehoā).[2] Jayaswal's reading *hathi Sugaṁgīyaṁ. pāyayati* and its interpretation[3] 'he drives his elephants into the *Sugāṅgīya* palace' is fantastic, since *pāyayati* cannot denote 'driving'. It is

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1 Bhagvanlal read the year 165 of the Maurya era in line 16. This was opposed by Fleet and Lüders. Jayaswal and Banerji at first supported the reading of Bhagvanlal in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 425 f. But later in their article on the Hāthīgumphā inscription they have admitted that the record does not contain any date of the era. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 74.

2 See '*Pṛthūdakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ* in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S.), p. 94.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 80 and 88 n.

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better to read *hathasaṁ Gaṅgāya* [*ṁ*]. The reading *Bahasatimita* is almost certain and has been accepted by all scholars.

The passage, therefore, means that in his twelfth regnal year Khāravela suddenly terrified the kings of North India (*Uttarāpatha*) and, causing panic among the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink the water of the Gaṅgā, and caused Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow to his feet.

Who is this Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha? His name in Sanskrit is generally taken to be Bṛhaspatimitra. Jayaswal identified him with Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, on the ground that Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) is the regent of the *nakṣatra Puṣya*.[4] This reason is fantastic and, therefore, has not been generally accepted. There is also no king of this name among the descendants of Aśoka mentioned in the Purāṇas. We know, however, of a king of this name from the Pabhosā (near Kosam) inscription[5] of Āṣāḍhasena, who was his maternal uncle. His mother Gopāli was the daughter of the king Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata of Ahicchatra (capital of North Pāñcāla). Āshāḍhasena was a feudatory of Ūdāka in whose tenth regnal year the cave was excavated at Pabhosā. This Ūdāka is perhaps identical with king Odruka mentioned in the Purāṇas as the son of the Śuṅga king Vasumitra,[6] the grandson of Puṣyamitra. Bṛhaspatimitra was himself ruling over the Vatsa country, with his capital at Kauśāmbī. It seems, however, that he had extended his rule to Pāṭaliputra soon after the death of Puṣyamitra. The coins of some Mitra kings have been found at Pāṭṇā, which show that it came under their rule after the death of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty.[7] Bṛhaspatimitra was probably the earliest member of this Mitra family. His kingdom seems to have extended from the country of Vatsa to that of Magadha. He is probably the king of Magadha mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription as the contemporary of Khāravela.

It seems that the Śuṅgas were ousted from Magadha soon after the death of Puṣyamitra. No coins or inscriptions of any successors of Puṣyamitra have been found in Magadha. The view generally held by scholars that the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas and the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) ruled successively at Pāṭaliputra has no basis. The centre of Śuṅga power seems to have shifted to Vidiśā after the death of Puṣyamitra. It was at Vidiśā that his son Agnimitra was ruling in his time as Yuvarāja. He seems to have continued to do so even after his father's death. His descendants also probably ruled from the same city. Hence we find that the Greek king Antialcidas of Takṣaśilā sent his

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4 *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. III, p. 473.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 242 f.

6 *D.K.A.*, p. 31, n. 13.

7 *A.S.R.* 1912-13, pp. 84 f. Inscriptions of the queens of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra have been found at Bodh Gayā. See *A.S.R.* 1907-08, pp. 40 and 225; *ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 147.

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ambassador Heliodorus to the court of Bhāgabhadra not at Pāṭaliputra but at Vidiśā (Besnagar)[8]. The Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Śuṅgas, seem to have made the same city of Vidiśā their capital. So we find that when the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) king Sātakarṇi invaded their kingdom, and apparently occupied it for some time, an inscription of his time was engraved on the gate way of a *Stūpa* at Sāñcī[9]. Vidiśā, thereafter, became the capital of the Nāgas as the Purāṇas tell us. It was probably a second capital of the Guptas in the early part of their age, as Ujjayinī became later in the time of Candragupta II. So Samudragupta, who was probably staying there as Yuvarāja, erected a temple of Viṣṇu at Airikiṇa (Eraṇ, a few miles to the north by east), which he calls *sva-bhoga-nagara-Airikiṇa*[10] (Airikiṇa, a city in his own *bhukti*). Recently some statues of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* have been discovered at Vidiśā,[11] bearing inscriptions of the reign of Samudragupta's son and successor Rāmagupta. Vidiśā was thus famous as a capital from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., during the time of the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas, the Nāgas and the Early Guptas. Hence it is not surprising that Kālidāsa describes it as a capital famous in all quarters[12]. When Khāravela invaded Magadha he encountered there not a scion of the Śuṅga family but Bahasatimita who belonged to the Mitra family and had occupied that city after the death of Puṣyamitra.

Puṣyamitra closed his reign in *circa* 150 B.C. Soon thereafter Bṛhaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī seems to have raided and occupied Pāṭaliputra. The Hāthīgumphā inscription tells us that Khāravela raided it in his twelfth regnal year and made his war elephants and horses drink the water of the Gaṅgā. Next he made Bṛhaspatimitra the king of Magadha, bow to his feet and thus acknowledge his suzerainty. If we place the coronation of Khāravela in *circa* 150 B.C., his raid on Magadha may have occurred in 138 B.C. His Hāthigumphā inscription narrates the events of his reign till the thirteenth year. He may have closed his reign soon thereafter. So he may have flourished in *circa* 150-135 B.C.

(II) Synchronism of Khāravela and Sātakaṇi—Let us next see how far this approximate date of Khāravela agrees with other synchronism mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Line 4 of the record runs as follows :—

दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंनिं पछिमदिसं हयगजनररथबहुलं दंडं पठापयति [।*]
कन्हवेंणागताय च सेनाय वितासिति असिकनगरं [।*]

This passage tells us that in his second regnal year Khāravela sent his army consisting of horses, elephants, chariots and foot-soldiers to the west, dis-

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8 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 104.
9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 88.
10 *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 18 f.
11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 46 f.
12 See '*Teṣāṁ dikṣu prathita-vidiśā-lakṣaṇāṁ rājadhānīm*' in the *Meghadūta*, v. 24.

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regarding Sātakaṇi. When his army reached the Kanhabeṁṇā, he struck terror in (the hearts of the people of) Asika-nagara.

Jayaswal and Banerji read *Musika-nagaram* and took Kanhabeṁṇā to be the famous river Kṛṣṇā which rises in the Sātārā District and after flowing through Mahārāṣṭra Karnāṭaka, and Andhra joins the Bay of Bengal.[13] Dhavalikar has tried to show that Musika-nagara is modern Maski,[14] where Aśoka's minor edicts have been discovered. But as Barua has pointed out, the correct reading of the place-name is *Asika-nagara* ; for " the right vertical stroke and the intervening space between the two arms fulfil all the requirements of the letter *a*. " Besides, Musika-nagara is nowhere mentioned in early inscriptions, whereas Asika (Sanskrit Ṛṣika) is noticed in several passages of the Epics and in early inscriptions as shown below. *Asika-nagara* is now generally accepted as the correct reading. Barua, however, suggests that ' Asika may be just a variant of Musika '.[15] This is a gratuitous suggestion. Had Asika not occurred anywhere in early records, it may have had some weight. But Asika occurs quite clearly in a Nāsik inscription of the same period, *viz.* in that of Puḷumāvi in the description of the southern countries under the rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[16] I showed more than forty years ago that Asika (Sanskrit Ṛṣika) is mentioned together with Asaka (Sanskrit Aśmaka) in ancient literature and inscriptions.[17] In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ṛṣika is coupled with Vidarbha and Māhiṣaka among the countries of the South which Sugrīva asked the monkeys to visit in search of Sītā.[18] In the *Mahābhārata* also, Ṛṣika is grouped with Vidarbha and Western Anūpa.[19] Elsewhere the Epic couples Ṛṣika with Aśmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karṇa.[20] In the *Daśakumāracarita* the ruler of Ṛṣika is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.[21] These references plainly show that Ṛṣika was contiguous to Aśmaka, Anūpa and Vidarbha. The only country which answers to this geographical position is modern Khāndesh ; for it is bounded on the east by Vidarbha, on the north by the Nemāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh (ancient Anūpa), and on the south by the Aurangābād and Ahmadnagar Districts— (ancient Mūlaka and Aśmaka).

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13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

14 *J.A.S.Bom.*, (New Series), Vol. XXXIII, pp. 97 f.

15 *I.H.Q.* Vol. XIV, p. 463, n. 25,

16 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 f.

17 *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 f.

18 *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, XLI, 10.

19 *Mahābhārata* (Citraśālā Press ed.), *Bhīṣmaparvan*, IX, 64; and *Udyogaparvan*, IV, 18-19.

20 *Ibid.*, *Karṇaparvan*, VIII, 20.

21 *Daśakumāracarita*, (Bom. Sanskr. Series ed.), p. 138.

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The passage tells us that Khāravela's army marching westwards reached Kanhabeṁṇā. This river cannot be identical with the Kṛṣṇā rising in the Sātārā District ; for it flows south, not west, of the country of Kaliṅga. Altekar, who supplied notes to the article of Jayaswal and Banerji on the Hāthīgumphā inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, was hard put to it in explaining how Khāravela's army marching westward could reach the Kṛṣṇā, He wrote, " There is no doubt that Khāravela reached the Kṛṣṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term *pachima-disaṁ* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛṣṇā. "[22]

The difficulty in identifying the Kanhabeṁṇā flowing west of Kaliṅga is of these scholars' own creation. It will disappear if we identify that river with the Vainagaṅgā (Veṇā) after its confluence with the Kanhān (Kṛṣṇā) in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha.[23] It was evidently known as Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā (Kanha-beṁṇā) in ancient times. As it flows west of Kaliṅga, the description in the Hāthīgumphā inscription suits it very well. When Khāravela's army reached the Vainagaṅgā, it naturally caused panic in the hearts of the people of Khāndeśa which borders Vidarbha on the west.

Besides, the passage says that Khāravela sent his army to the west, disregarding Sātakarṇi. Vidarbha and Khāndeśa were then included in the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas (to whose family Sātakarṇi belonged), but Maski near the bank of the Kṛṣṇā was not so included in the period referred to. Sātavāhana rule did not extend to Kuntala (in which Maski is included) even in the time of such a late king of the dynasty as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as I have shown elsewhere.[24] It was first in the time of his son Puḷumāvi that Kuntala came under the rule of the Sātavāhanas.[25] So the reading *Musika-nagara* is out of the question.

When did this Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary of Khāravela flourish? Several kings of this name are mentioned in the Purāṇas as belonging to the Andhra (*i.e.* Sātavāhana) dynasty. In fact, *Sātakarṇi* soon became the family name, superceding the earlier *Sātavahana*. So some kings prefixed their matronymic or personal name to it to distinguish themselves from other Sātakarṇis. Hence we find such names of later kings as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāṣiṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Cakora Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi etc.

Various views have been expressed about the identification of this Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary of Khāravela. Some place him in the beginning of the

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22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 83.
23 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.
24 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 205 f.
25 *Loc. cit.*

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second century B.C. and others towards the close of the first cen. B.C. For fixing his date even approximately, we must determine when this family rose to power in the Deccan.

The Purāṇas, at least a majority of them, aver that the Andhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) ruled for 456 or 460 years.[26] It is known that they disappear from history in *circa* A.D. 230.[27] So they must have risen to power in *circa* 230 B.C. *i.e*, soon after the death of Aśoka, when his vast empire disintegrated. The Purāṇas give thirty as the number of the rulers of this family; but some state the number as eighteen or nineteen. Besides, there are discrepancies in regard to the periods of their rule. It is difficult to resolve this tangle, but it is not unlikely that the family declared its independence soon after the death of Aśoka, in *circa* 230 B.C. Otherwise, if we suppose that this family rose to power in the first cen. B.C., there would be a blank of more than a century in the history of the Deccan.

The Purāṇas mention Simuka as the first king of this family. However, from some coins recently found in different parts of the Deccan and in excavations it appears that Sātavāhana was the progenitor,[28] who gave his name to the family. In his Nāsik cave inscription Kṛṣṇa, the brother and successor of Simuka, describes himself as ' born in the Sātavāhana family.'[29] If he had been a son of Sātavahana, he would not have referred to himself in this manner. It seems, therefore, that there were at least two members of this family who flourished before the brothers Simuka and Kṛṣṇa. Their reign may have covered the period B.C. 230 to 200.

Simuka was the real founder of the Sātavāhana power. The Nāṇeghāṭ inscription describes him as an intrepid warrior who became the lord of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.[30] The Purāṇas assign a period of twenty-three years to his reign. He was followed by Kṛṣṇa, his brother,[31] who succeded him probably because his son Sātakarṇi-I was then a minor. The Purāṇas assign a period of eighteen years to his rule. The total period of the two brothers' rule thus comes to 41 years. If the reign-periods given in the Purāṇas are correct, Sātakarṇi-I may have come to the throne in (200 minus 41 =) 159 B.C. He was thus a senior contemporary of Khāravela.

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26 *D.K.A.*, p. 43.

27 As I have shown elsewhere, a Brāhmaṇa family rose to power in *circa* A.D, 230 in Vidarbha. Some other royal families founded kingdoms in other parts of the Deccan in A.D. 250.

28 *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VII. pp. 1 f. ; Vol. XI, pp. 22 f.

29 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VIII, p. 93.

30 See *Vīrasa Sūrasa apratihata-cakasa Dakhiṇā-patha-patino* in line 2 of the Nāṇeghāt inscription of Nāganikā, *A.S.W.I.*, Vol, V, pp. 60 f.

31 *D.K.A*, p. 39.

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This Sātakarṇi was a powerful king. He performed several sacrifices including two *Aśvamedhas*, which testify to his supremacy in the Deccan.[32] He raided north India also. This is indicated by an inscription on the gateway of a *Stūpa* at Sāñcī.[33] That he was ruling in Vidarbha is shown by one of his coins discovered during excavations at Paunī in the Bhaṇḍārā District.[34] This place is situated on the Vainagaṅgā (ancient Kanha-Beṁṇā), and thus answers to the description in the Hāthīgumphā inscription. Khāravela is said to have sent his large army westwards 'disregarding Sātakarṇi'. This wording shows that the latter was a powerful contemporary. This description aptly befits Sātakarṇi I, who was the most powerful king of the time.

Khāravela's army evidently did not score any victory in this campaign; otherwise, it would have been mentioned explicitly in the Hāthigumphā inscription. Two years later, he again invaded the Sātavāhana kingdom and made the Rathikas and Bhojakas bow to his feet. The latter were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. They are mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka. The Sātavāhanas are known to have made matrimonial alliances with them.[35] Later, they disappear from history. The reference to them in the Hāthīgumphā inscription lends colour to the date 150-135 approximately fixed for Khāravela.

(III) The third synchronism mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription is that of Khāravela and the Yavana king Dimita. The passage (line 8) runs as follows :—

अठमे च वसे महता सेनाय..... गोरधगिरिं घातापयिता राजगहं उपपीडयति [। *] एतिना च कंमपदानसंनादेन... सेनवाहने, विपमुचितं मधुरं अपयातो यवनराज [। दिमित][36]... [। *]

This passage states that in the eighth year of his reign Khāravela sacked Goradhagiri (Barābar Hills) and caused pressure on Rājagṛha. Being frightened by the resounding march of his army the Yavana king Dimita fled to Mathurā. The name of this Greek king has not been preserved completely in the inscription, but from the traces left it seems to be Dimitas (Demetrius). Does this synchronism agree with the date 150-135 B.C. fixed above for Khāravela?

Demetrius is known to have been a ruler of Bactria. His invasion of India is usually supposed to have occurred during the reign of the last known Maurya king Bṛhadratha. The confusion caused by it is said to be identical with that graphically described in the *Yuga-purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. This account says that the 'viciously valiant' Greeks had to retreat hastily from

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32 See the Nāṇeghāṭ inscriprion of his queen Nāganikā, line 11.

33 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 88.

34 *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XXXV, pp. 106 f.

35 Mahāraṭhi Tranakayira, who was probably the father of Queen Nāganikā is mentioned in a label inscription in the Nāṇeghāṭ cave. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. V, p. 60.

36 The name is now damaged, but *ma* is clear. The reading is accepted by many scholars.

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Pāṭaliputra on account of a war having broken out amongst them.[37] Scholars understand that this refers to the retreat of Demetrius from India on account of the trouble in his home country of Bactria caused by his rival Eucratides. Puṣyamitra is said to have taken advantage of the confusion caused by this foreign invasion to usurp power in *circa* 184 B.C. Does not this go against the date 150-135 fixed approximately for Khāravela?

It does not. The reference to Dimita in the Hāthīgumphā inscription can be taken to refer to Demetrios II, a son of Demetrius I. Macdonald has shown that a few tetradrachms and drachms which have a comparatively youthful bust on the obverse and the figure of Pallas Athene standing to the front with spear and shield and the legend *Basileos Demetriou* were probably struck by another Demetrius who was a son of Demetrios I.[38] He may have been ruling somewhere near Mathurā. When he heard reports of Khārvela's invasion of Rājagṛha, he seems to have taken shelter in the fortified city of Mathurā.

This synchronism does not thus conflict with the date 150-135 B.C. fixed for Khāravela. On the other hand, those who fix the date of Khāravela in the first century B.C. would find it difficult to explain this mention of a Greek king named Dimita ruling near Mathurā.[39]

So all the three synchronisms agree in placing Khāravela in the period 150-135 B.C. We have next to see if any other statement in the Hāthīgumphā inscription conflicts with this date.

Line 6 has the following passage :—

पंचमे च दानी वसे नंदराजतिवससतओघाटितं तनसुलियवाटा पणाडिं नगरं पवेसयति [। *]

This passage has been interpreted variously. It apparently states that in his fifth regnal year Khāravela brought to his capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal which had been excavated by the Nanda king 103 (or 300) years before.

Shashi Kant, who has recently written on the Hāthīgumphā inscription, takes this passage to mean that the canal had been excavated 103 years after the commencement (in 527 B.C.) of the Mahāvīra era (i.e. in 424 B.C.).[40] If this interpretation is accepted, it will have no bearing on the date of Khāravela. But it is pointed out that the era of Mahāvīra is not seen used in ancient Indian inscriptions.

H. C. Raychaudhuri took the passage to mean that the canal was excavated by a Nanda king three hundred years ago. As he placed the rise of the

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37 See *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. II, pp. 96-97.

38 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (1935), p. 448.

39 See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (1965), p. 216, n. 5.

40 *The Hāthīgumphā Inscrtption of Khāravela*, p. 34.

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Nandas in *circa* 345 B.C. he took this passage as supporting his view that Khāravela flourished in the first cen. B.C.[41] This, however, presents other difficulties as shown above,

The wording of the expression is similar to those recording dates of an era[42]. Hence some scholars take it to mean that the canal was excavated in the year 103 of the era of a Nanda king. That such an era was current in India is shown by the Yeḍara inscription of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI.[43] Alberuni also was told that there was an era current in India which commenced in 458 B.C.[44] This evidently must have been the Nanda era. If this is accepted, the 103rd year of it will fall in 355 B.C. This also does not conflict with the date of Khāravela fixed before. Besides, the Jain tradition is said to be unanimous in placing the Nandas 60 years after Mahāvīra i.e. in *circa* 467 B.C., and in assigning them a rule of 155 or 150 years. So the canal could have been dug by a Nanda king in the year 103 of the Nanda era. This interpretation of the passage would, therefore, present no difficulty.

According to some scholars, however, the Nandas rose to power in 364 B.C. We know that they had extended their rule to Kaliṅga, where their era may have been current. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to remember an exact date like 103 after the lapse of a century. Even if the expression means that the canal had been excavated in the year 103 of the Nanda era, and the Nandas ruled for about 40 years after 364 B.C. as supposed by these scholars, there would be no difficulty; for the expression does not state who excavated the canal. It may have been excavated by Aśoka in the 103rd year of the Nanda era commencing in 364 B.C. i.e. in 261 B.C. We know that the Mauryas constructed such works of public utility even in the outlying provinces of their vast empire. Their construction of the Sudarśana lake[45] near Girnār is well-known.

But, it may be objected, no such era of any Nanda king is known. In that case, the expression *ti-vasa-sata* will have to be understood in the sense of 'about three centuries before;' for an exact date like 300 years is not likely to have been remembered. It is evidently a round number. If the Nandas rose to power in *circa* 364 B.C. as supposed by some scholars, and if Khāravela began to reign in 150 B.C. as we have stated, the rise of the Nandas falls in the third century

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41 *Political History of Ancient India* (1950), p. 406.

42 See e.g. the expression *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara*—which occurs in several inscriptions of the Śilāhāras.

43 See the Yeḍarave inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii (old ed.), p. 437.

44 Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 4-7.

45 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

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before the date of the Hāthīgumphā inscription.[46] And this is what is stated in the expression under discussion.

Whatever interpretation of the expression we may adopt, it does not conflict in any way with the date 150-135 we have fixed approximately for Khāravela.

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46 The expression '*ti-vasa-sata*' is not to be interpreted quite literally ; for the canal was not brought into the capital of Khāravela by way of ter-centenary celebration of the date of its original excavation ! What was probably meant was that more than two hundred years had elapsed since its original excavation and the third century was running.

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THERIOMORPHIC VESSELS IN CHALCOLITHIC MAHĀRĀṢṬRA—A RE-APPRAISAL

By

ARUNKUMAR, Simla

The relative lateness of the Chalcolithic Cultures of India has led scholars to assume not only an inspiration by way of culture-contacts, but also a derivation from the Near-East and Central Asia.[1] Some even go a step further and regard them as colonizations from the west.[2] To substantiate this hypothetical surmise Sankalia has all along been endeavouring to trace the West-Asiatic/Iranian ancestry of a few of the more exotic objects occurring associated with the chalcolithic assemblages of Central India and Northern Deccan.

Such objects can conveniently be grouped into the following categories : (1) Channel-spouted bowls; (2) footed/legged bowls; (3) incised beads of terracotta; (4) a few design elements among the painted patterns; (5) a few terracotta human figurines of either sex, and lastly, (6) a couple of so-called theriomorphic vessels of clay.

Though we are here concerned mainly with the last category, it would perhaps not be out of place to make passing references to the others as well. Thus, while the channel-spouted and legged/footed bowls have recently been shown to have been derived respectively from the Southern Neolithic [3] and the Sub-Indus Saurāṣṭra, [4] the incised beads from the Banas Valley [5] appear to be paralleled at the Harappan sites of Sindh. [6]

As regards the fourth category, the comparisons are " confined to the elements or units used in the composition of the designs ; rarely does an entire design find its parallel." It has also been admitted that in this comparative study, the pigment, the colour and the treatment of the pot-surface have not been taken into account. [7] But such facile and out-of-the-context comparisons are irrelevant, as they do not lead us anywhere. The syntax of the painting style or the decorative theme is often related to the pot-forms and therefore both the graphic and the plastic media should be taken into consideration to make the comparison valid and the inferences fruitful. [8]

Similarly, the crude manufacture of the terracotta figurines precludes the possibility of ever having satisfactory iconographical comparisons. None-the-less the so-called identity of the Nevasa mother-goddess and the Inamgaon female rider [9] and the male-figure from the last named site, [10] with those from Çatal Hüyuk and Sahri-Sokhta stands much vitiated by a vast gap in terms both of time and space.

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Coming to the last category of the theriomorphic vessels, with which we are directly concerned here, till date only two specimens—one each from Nevasa and Chandoli in Mahārāṣṭra– are recorded. It is, however, pertinent to note that prior to the discovery of an almost complete specimen from Chandoli, the Nevasa specimen was simply described as a 'bottle to be strapped to the waist.'

The one from Chandoli [11] is made of a well fired, fine clay bearing reddish slip. In form it is a hollow cylinder with a rimmed opening in place of the mouth of a bull, the characteristics of the latter being indicated by a short applique tail, a small hump and short oblique strokes in black painted all over. It seems to have been supported on wheels, as the longitudinal grooves across the base show (fig. : 12). The Nevasa specimen, [12] in an unslipped red ware, is almost similar but better modelled to show the contours of a bovine hind. The traces of fracture, where perhaps the hump and tail were applied, were originally regarded as the stumps of a loop-handle (fig. : 13). Both the specimens have only side openings and are ascribable, on the strength of C-14 determinations, to c. 13th-12th centuries B.C.

The only other known specimen in India has come from the Harappan site of Mohenjodaro [13] in Sindh. It is in the form of a well modelled couchant ram in a cream slipped ware. It has, however, the rimmed opening in the middle of its back, (fig. : 11) and was suggested functionally to be an inkpot. Chronologically it is at least five to ten centuries older than the two chalcolithic specimens. [14]

Though obviously the top and side openings of these objects found in chronologically distinct contexts seem to set them apart, all of them have been given a blanket term of " theriomorphic vessels", and as such compared with those known from among the relics of the most ancient civilizations from Egypt in west to Iran in east. [15]

In the Near-Eastern countries of Iraq and Iran, however, they are of common occurrence and are found in a variety of shapes including those of human, bull, bird, ram and even fish. The depictions on seals and other objects, however, add lion and antelope to this impressive list.[16] As against the chalcolithic specimens from India, these west Asiatic theriomorphic vessels are usually provided with top-openings, though those with side-openings are not altogether unknown.

To take the specific instances occurring in the temple-complexes of Protoliterate Iraq, dated c. 3rd millennium B.C., save the solitary instance of a painted cylindrical effigy with four applique stumps for the legs and a side opening (fig. : 10),[17] all other theriomorphic vessels have not only the top-openings but also a spout provided in the mouth of the animal. They include a bull (fig. : 2), two birds (fig. : 7, 8) and ram shaped vessels from Khafajah [18] and a bird

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(fig. : 5) and a number of ram-vases (fig. : 3) from Tell Asmar.[19] Of these while the bull and the bird vases have only pedestal base, the ram vessels are all wheeled objects, including the one from Khafajah, which has, in addition, a loop in the neck for tying a thread.

Further east in Iran from the levels of Sialk III, dated a couple of centuries prior to those mentioned above, have come a couple of painted bird vases.[20] These, too, have only top-openings with the spout-mouth and pedestal base. (fig. : 6). Almost a millennia later are another couple of terracotta effigy vases from Hissar III. They are in the form of one each a female torso[21] (fig. : 1) and a bull[22] (fig. : 4). Both have top-openings as also the provision for keeping them erect. The former, however, lacks a spout in the mouth.

Apart from these very early specimens of the theriomorphic vessels, mention has been made of "an identical terracotta figure of a bull on wheel" found in the ruins of the temple A, dated c. 1475 B.C. at Nuzi in Iraq.[23] Again, in Iran, in the levels of Sialk VI-Necropole B, dated the 12th-10th centuries B.C., has been found an almost cylindrical vase having a side-opening; the other end tapers to a closed point (fig. : 9). It is supported on applique stumps and towards the opening, on its back, is a fin-like projection that suggests the form to be intended perhaps for a fish.[24]

As in Iraq the usual provenance of these theriomorphic vessels is either inside or in close proximity of the temple complexes, their ritual significance is perhaps obvious. This assumption appears to be confirmed by the fact that "such vessels are actually depicted in ritual scenes on cylinder seals and on an alabaster vase from Warka."[25] No such information for the specimens from Iran or, for that matter, India is, however, available. Hence too much emphasis on the Iraqian analogy, which is too remote in time as well as space, will perhaps be misplaced, and we must, for the present at least, assume only a secular significance for the Indian—particularly chalcolithic-specimens, whose non-ritualistic context seems to be indicated.

Technically, too, the chalcolithic bull vases of India appear to form a separate category. Almost all the foreign specimens are not only top-open, but also are provided with spout-mouths, a device that would go a long way in making the flow of the oblationary liquid a smooth process. Their supposed Indian derivatives have, however, only the side-openings. This basic difference as also the fact that the absence of any provision for keeping the latter in vertical position renders them useless as a receptacle for solid or liquid offerings, and compels us to doubt the comparison as well as the implied ritualistic significance.

On the other hand, the side openings, if viewed in the light of the wheels on the Chandoli specimen, seem only to indicate the likelihood of their being

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only hollow animal-toys and nothing more. Any semblance, in our opinion, to the west Asiatic or even Harappan theriomorphic vessels is only incomplete and fortuitous.[26]

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REVIEWS

Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-Parama-Laghumañjūṣā of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (Text with translation and critical notes) by Dr. KAPILA DEVA SHASTRI, Published by: Kurukshetra University, 1975 pp. 14+39+452, Rs. 65/-.

The Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-parama-laghu-mañjūṣā is generally considered an abridged recast of the *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-laghu-mañjūṣā*, itself a recast of the larger *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣā*. All three of these works are also ascribed to Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (or Nāgojībhaṭṭa), the polymath and outstanding figure of Pāṇinian grammar in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The text of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* has been edited several times with commentaries, and an edition with a Hindi paraphrase appeared in 1974.[1] The book under review is the most recent contribution to the study of this text, a new edition with a Hindi translation and comments by Kapila Deva Shastri. It contains: the text with translation and comments in Hindi (pp. 1-438); an introduction (pp. 1-39, separately paginated); and two indices, one of citations in the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, traced to their sources in so far as Kapila Deva was able to do so (pp. 439-450), the other of authors and works referred to (pp. 451-452). These are preceded by a short preface (pp. 1-3, separately paginated) and a quite brief (and incomplete) list of abbreviations of works referred to by Kapila Deva, with bibliographic information (also incomplete), and followed by a short list of corrigenda (two pages, unnumbered).

In his introduction, Kapila Deva gives an extremely abbreviated overview of the philosophy of grammar in India (pp. 1-13) and a survey of Nāgeśa's life and works (pp. 14-39). In my opinion, the most valuable section of this introduction is the one (pp. 19-39) wherein Kapila Deva takes up the contents of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, discusses its relation to the two other *mañjūṣā* texts—the longer of which, he notes (pp. 21-22), is also called *Sphoṭa-vāda*—as well as to Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*, and argues that the

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1 The major editions of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* other than Kapila Deva's which are available to me are: (1) the text edited with notes by Nityānanda Panta Parvatīya and the *Arthadīpikā* Sanskrit commentary by Sadāśiva Śāstrī Joshi (Varanasi. 1946), (2) the text edited with the *Jyotsnā* Sanskrit commentary by Kālikāprasād Shukla (Baroda, 1961), (3) the text edited with notes by Nityānanda Panta Parvatīya and the *Tattvaprakāśikā* Sanskrit commentary and Hindi paraphrase by Alakhadeva Śarmā (Varanasi, 1974). (3) is a reedition of (1) with a new commentary and Hindi paraphrase. For full bibliographic information on these see *Pāṇini, a survey of research* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 63, 114, 377. In his list of references and abbreviations (pp. 5-6), Kapila Deva mentions (1) and (2) and another edition, by Vaṃśīdhara Miśra, unavailable to me. Kapila Deva could not here notice (3), since his own book was in press when this appeared.

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Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā neither is throughout an abridgement of the *Laghu-mañjūṣā* nor stems wholly from Nāgeśa. At the very beginning (p. 19), Kapila Deva immediately sets forth his major conclusion: the ascription of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* to Nāgeśa is doubtful. There are two major reasons for this. To begin with, although there are many points of agreement between the first part of the *Parama-laghu mañjūṣā* and the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*, one nevertheless also finds mentioned views which are precisely the contrary of those held in the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*. Moreover, in the second part of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* there are sections taken verbatim from Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*, and one cannot consider an extraordinary scholar like Nāgeśa to have done such borrowing. Kapila Deva goes on later to compare the contents of the *Laghu-mañjūṣā* and the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*. He holds (p. 24) that the first part of the latter—from the *śakti-nirūpaṇa* to the *nipātārtha-nirṇaya*—can be ascribed to Nāgeśa, though even here there are disagreements with what is said in the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*, but that the later part of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*—from the *daśa-lakārādeśārtha-nirṇaya* to the end—is not Nāgeśa's at all. And it is in the last two sections, the *nāmārtha-nirṇaya* and *samāsādi-vṛtty-artha* sections, that Kapila Deva perceives a massive appropriation of material from the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* (pp. 32-37). In fact, he says (p. 32) that these two sections are mere condensations of what is said in the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* and concludes (p. 37) that one might consider them to be interpolations, composed by another author, or culled by another author. For other reasons, Kapila Deva considers other parts of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* possibly secondary. Thus, he notes (p. 27) that in one edition of the text two sections—the *daśa-lakārādeśārtha-nirūpaṇa* and *lakārārtha-nirūpaṇa*—are collapsed into one, while in manuscripts and other editions these are considered distinct.[2] However, continues Kapila Deva, two different views form the background to these two sections, which he himself separates. Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita and other grammarians maintain that affixes like the verbal endings *tiP* etc., which replace L-suffixes *laṭ*, *liṭ* etc. in Pāṇini's grammatical system, are significant units, not the substituent L-suffixes, but *Naiyāyikas* maintain that it is these L-suffixes themselves which are significant, not their replacements. The two chapter titles respectively reflect these views. Kapila Deva concludes that, in view of the brief compass of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, a whole section on the meanings of L-suffixes from the point of view of *Naiyāyikas* (and *Mīmāṃsakas*) is wholly unnecessary. On page 22, he says that the *daśa-lakārādeśārtha* section has two parts: in the first, the meanings of affixes

2 Kapila Deva (p. 37, note 1 of the introduction) identifies Kālikāprasād Shukla's as the edition in which the two sections are combined. The two are indeed combined in this edition (pp. 138-164), although the heading in the commentary is *atha daśa-lakārādeśārthāḥ* and the colophon is *iti jyotsnāyāṃ lakārārtha-nirṇayaḥ*. However, the two sections are also combined in the two Chowkhamba editions (1) and (3) in my note 1, pages 74-90 and 149-180, respectively).

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which replace the ten L-suffixes are discussed in accord with the views of grammarians; in the second are treated the meanings of the L-suffixes themselves, according to the views of *Naiyāyikas*. Kapila Deva here concludes that the first part is an abbreviation of the *lakāra-viśeṣaṇārtha-nirṇaya* of the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*. As for the second part, in which the positions of *Naiyāyikas* and *Mīmāṃsakas* are presented, he notes that this has no exact counterpart in the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*. Further, seeing as how the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* is short in compass, this second section appears rather unnecessary, says Kapila Deva.

Despite all of this, Kapila Deva ends on a note of caution. He does not consider it proper to reach a definite conclusion in haste (p. 37). I agree with this caution. It has been pointed out earlier that, although the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* shows disagreements with some views presented in the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa* and its shorter version, the *Bhūṣaṇa-sāra*, it also follows Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in many instances.[3] And Kapila Deva has nicely brought into relief that parts of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* are indeed practically verbatim repetitions of parts of the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*. However, not all of his arguments appear cogent to me. Let me consider one set of arguments in some detail. As I have pointed out above, Kapila Deva argues that the section of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* in which are treated the meanings of L-suffixes from the point of view of *Naiyāyikas* is not to be attributed to Nāgeśa. The main points of this argument are : *1*. This section reflects the *Naiyāyika* view, while the one preceding it reflects the position of grammarians. *2*. The *Laghu-mañjūṣā* does not contain a precisely comparable section. *3*. In a short work such as the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, this extra section is out of place. Now, this last is no argument at all, only an opinion of what one scholar considers proper for Nāgeśa to have included. In connection with *2*, let us consider the following. (a) In the Pāṇinian system of grammar, finite verbal forms such as *bhavati* 'is', *bhavataḥ* 'they two are', *bhavanti* 'they are' and present participal forms such as *bhavan* (base *bhavat*) ultimately derive from a verbal base to which is affixed an L-suffix (*lakāra*) that is replaced by an ending or participial affix ; e.g., *bhū-laṭ*—→ *bhū-ti*...—→*bhav-a-ti*. There are ten such L-suffixes, introduced under different conditions of time references and modalities. But common to all of them is that they are introduced after a verbal base if : an agent (*kartṛ*) or object (*karman*) is to be designated or, if the verb in question has no object (*akarmaka*), when an agent or action (*bhāva*) is to be denoted. This is provided in *Pāṇini* 3.4.69 : *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve câkarmakebhyaḥ* (*kartari* 67). By 3.4.77 (*lasya*), 3.4.78 (*tip-tas-jhi*...), endings *tiP*, *tas*, *jhi* (*anti*) etc. occur as replacements for any L-suffix. Now, at the beginning of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* the position is defended that the substituend L-suffixes and the replacements *tiP* etc. are all

3 See, for example, Kālikāprasād Shukla's Sanskrit introduction, pp. 15-17.

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posited fictions, entities set up in a grammatical system in order to account for the structures of sentences. Sages like Pāṇini also assumed for the purpose of grammatical deviations that substantial elements such as affixes have particular meanings. They explicitly state these meanings posited in connection with substituend L-suffixes, as in 3.4.69. But the replacements of these also have these meanings, by the principle that a replacement of a given substituend must have the meaning of that entity. Thus, the argument about whether substituends or their replacements have the property of signifying is useless, since both are possessed of a posited signification.[4] The same thing is said in the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*.[5] (b) There is another work generally ascribed to Nāgeśa, called *Sphoṭa-vāda* (ed. V. Krishnamacharya, The Adyar Library Series no. 55, Madras, 1946). Kapila Deva (introduction, p. 22) mentions this and does not deny the usual ascription. The view held by *Naiyāyika*s concerning whether L-suffixes or their replacements are significant is dealt with here. *Naiyāyika*s hold that the endings *ti*, *tas*, *anti* etc. of forms like *pacati* 'is cooking', *pacataḥ pacanti* serve to convey a conscious effort (*prayatna*, *kṛti*) of an agent or agents. Further, they maintain that it is actually the substituend L-suffix which signifies this, not endings which occur as replacements. They take this position because of theoretical simplicity. Any significant element is said to be possessed of signification (*śakta*). And there is a property which delimits each such entity qua signifier of a meaning, a *śaktatâvacchedaka*. This is sequence of sounds, as in *t-i*. If, now, each such ending is said to denote a meaning—in this case conscious effort—there will be a large number of *śaktatâvacchedaka* to posit. But if the substituend L-suffixes are treated as signifiers, one can posit one single property as *śaktatâvacchedaka*, namely the property of being an L (*latva*). Hence, affixes like *ti* are said to call to mind their substituends, which they signify. This position is attacked from various positions. One of the points made is that, if it is adopted, one will have to accept that a non-grammarian, who does not know of any substituend for an ending like *ti*, will not cognize a meaning when a form like *pacati* is used.[6] (c) The *Naiyāyika* position is dealt with also in the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*. First, it is considered in the section on the semantics of verbal bases (*dhātv-artha-nirṇaya*), which Kapila Deva is willing to ascribe to Nāgeśa. It is brought in here in the context of arguing against the

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4 *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* (PLM), p. 10 of Kapila Deva's edition, p. 3 of (1), p. 15 of (2), p. 5 of (3); see my note 1 for references. All editions other than Kapila Deva's have *iti bhāṣyāt*, but Kapila Deva reads *iti bhāṣya-nyāyāt*. He notes this (p. 10, note 5) and says his reading appears in manuscripts. Kapila Deva's reading is also justified by PLM p. 167 of his edition, where the same *nyāya* is given, with *iti nyāyena*, though Kapila Deva does not point this out.

5 Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edition, p. 9, Sabhāpati Śarmā Upādhyāya's edition (Varanasi, 1963), p. 7.

6 *Sphoṭa-vāda*, p. 5 (section 3).

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Naiyāyika view that L-suffixes designate only conscious effort, not an agent or object, as Pāṇinian grammarians maintain. After an argument which I omit here, the *Naiyāyika* is forced to admit the possibility that an ending such as *ti* in *pacati* ultimately serves to convey conscious effort but that a participial affix such as *at* (*Śat* Ṛ) in *pacan* 'cooking' will designate an agent. This is refuted by invoking the *Naiyāyika*'s own position. For the reason noted above, a *Naiyāyika* posits that an ending like *ti* is like a written symbol which calls to mind a linguistic unit : it calls to mind an L-suffix, which alone signifies. If, then, such an L-suffix signifies an agent when *Śat* Ṛ is used, how could it signify conscious effort when an ending like *tiP* is used ?[7] The same argument is used in the *Sphoṭa-vāda*.[8] In the *Parama laghu-mañjūṣā* the *Naiyāyika* view is again brought up in the section which Kapila Deva considers dispensable.[9] (d) The *Naiyāyika* position is also brought up in the *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*, where Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa also argues against it. And he does this while expatiating on a *kārikā* by Bhaṭṭojī, who also speaks against the *Naiyāyika* position both in his *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-kārikāḥ* and in his *Śabdakaustubha*.[10] Now, from (a) it can be seen that Nāgeśa did consider the question whether substituends or their replacements should be treated as significant. From (b) and (c) it is clear that he not only dealt with this question but also refuted a *Naiyāyika* position. In doing this, he was not terribly original, since he agrees essentially with what Bhaṭṭojī and Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa said before him, as shown in (d), This weakens the thrust of argument *2*. That the *Laghu-mañjūṣā* does not have a section exactly equivalent to that part of the *Parama-lahug-mañjūṣā* in which are set forth the views of *Naiyāyika*s and *Mīmāṃsaka*s concerning L-suffixes and their replacements does not mean that Nāgeśa did not consider these questions himself. As for argument *1*, for this to be cogent one would have to demonstrate not only that the section in question is out of place but also that it involves contradiction with what Nāgeśa says elsewhere. In this connection, let us note briefly what Kapila Deva has said on this topic on another occasion.[11] As pointed out under (a) above, at the beginning of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* the author speaks of the meanings posited for substituends and stated explicitly by the ancient sages. The section of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* dealing with

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7 PLM Kapila Deva 164, (1) 51, (2) 105, (3) 105.

8 *Sphoṭa-vāda*, p. 7 (section 8). The objection made here is that the segregation accepted by *Naiyāyika*s (and *Mīmāsaka*s) that an L-suffix denotes conscious effort when a verb ending occurs but an agent etc. when a participial affix occurs could not be maintained.

9 PLM Kapila Deva 265, (1) 79-80, (2) 147-148, (3) 157.

10 *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*, pp. 459-469, commenting on *kārikā* 61 in the edition by Śaṅkara Śāstrī Mārulkar (Ānandāśrama, 1957), the one used by Kapila Deva. *Śabdakaustubha* 1.5 (Varanasi, 1933).

11 In his article, "On the authenticity of *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*," contributed to the *Charudeva Shastri felicitation volume* (Delhi, 1974), pp. 299-304.

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the meanings of the replacements for the ten L-suffixes begins by saying: although *tārkika* (that is, *Naiyāyika*s) have described the meanings only of L-suffixes, nevertheless, the meaning of each of the L-suffix replacements, verb endings, is set forth, because of what is said in the *Bhāṣya*—only a linguistic item which is uttered, not one which is not uttered, conveys a meaning—and because this is what is experienced in every day communication. In addition, the text goes on to say that a *sūtra* like 3.4.69 (see under (a) above) is put into play through attributing the meaning of a replacement to a substituend.[12] Kapila Deva has claimed (*Charudeva Shastri felicitation volume*, p. 301) that these two passages cannot be of the same author since they contradict each other; in the first passage, the *Naiyāyika* view is accepted, but this view is rejected in the second passage. I fail to see such a contradiction. At the beginning of the *Laghu* and *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*, Nāgeśa stresses that the true unit of signification is the sentence—the *vākya-sphoṭa*—and accordingly says that units like L-suffixes and their replacements are merely posited entities. The meanings one may attribute to these also are posited partial meanings of sentences. Once this position is taken, it is fruitless to argue about whether L-suffixes or their replacements are the true meaning bearers. Both are, in the context of a grammatical machinery. When, then, Nāgeśa speaks of the *ṛṣi* as explicitly giving the meanings of the substituends, one can hardly conclude from this that he is attributing to them a *Naiyāyika* position or that he is himself accepting such a view. Nor, coming back to point *1* specifically, does the presence in the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* of a section in which are set forth the views of *Naiyāyika*s and *Mīmāṃsaka*s concerning L-suffixes and their substitutes in any way warrant the conclusion that the author accepts these views. In sum, the only argument which is left is *3*: the section in question seems out of place in a short work. But this is subjective and not probative.

In view of the above, I agree with Kapila Deva's expressed caution. One should indeed not be lead to quick conclusions. Some of the text ascribed to Nāgeśa may well be the work of another author. But considerable work remains to be done in dealing with this question.

Let me turn now to the translation and commentary. On the whole this is quite good and useful. Kapila Deva has exerted himself diligently to offer every possible help in clarifying the language and arguments of the text. For this he deserves thanks. There are, nevertheless, quite a few places where something can be added. Some examples will illustrate my point.[13]

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12 PLM Kapila Deva 243, (1) 74, (2) 138, (3) 149. The crucial phrase here is.... *ādeśārtham sthāniny āropya pravṛttiḥ*.

13 In what follows, page references are to the text, translation and commentary of Kapila Deva.

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The *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* cites (p. 5) from Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* on *Nyāya-sūtra* 2.1.55 (misprinted as 1.55 here): *pada-samūho vākyam artha-samāptau*. Nāgeśa says here (and in *LM* p. 1) that a supplement *samartham* is to be understood. He thereby has Vātsyāyana say that an utterance (*vākya*), which is a conglomerate of *pada* (items terminating in nominal and verbal endings), is capaple (*samartha*) of completing a meaning, that is, of conveying a complete meaning. Clearly, *artha-samāptau* is thus interpreted as containing an *adhikaraṇa-saptamī*, so that it requires a supplement. Kapila Deva notes (p. 7) that this is needed to clarify what is meant. It should be noted that Vātsyāyana's statement is usually, and correctly, understood differently, with *artha-samāptau* taken to be a locative absolute (*sati saptamī*). It characterizes a *vākya* as a conglomerate of *pada* on condition that a complete meaning is conveyed; it does not stress what a *vākya* is capable of.

In connection with L-suffixes and their replacements, the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* (p. 10, see note 4) invokes the principle that alone is a substitute for a given element which is capable of denoting its meaning, and attributes this principle to the *Bhāṣya*. Kapila Deva (p. 10 note 5, p. 12) notes that this principle is not explicitly stated in the form given in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and then says that Nāgeśa is possibly referring to part of the *Mahābhāṣya* on 1.1.48. It should be noted that Nāgeśa explicitly formulates this principle in his *Uddyota* on the *Mahābhāṣya* to 3.1.78 (Rohatak edition, III.530) and that the *Nyāya* is also stated earlier, by Haradatta.[14]

Having argued that a speech unit (*śabda*) and its meaning (*artha*) are identified and that this imposed identity relation (*tādātmya*) holds between the two, the *Parama laghu mañjūṣā* (p. 34) goes on to show how one speaks of an *artha* as *śakya* and a *śabda* as *śakta*: the former is intended as the *nirūpaka* of the relation and the latter is indended as its *āśraya*. In his translation of the passage, Kapila Deva (p. 34) adds as an explanation of *nirūpaka*: *yā nirṇāyaka*. In the *dhātv-artha-nirṇaya* section (p. 127), the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* explains what constitutes being a *phala*, a result of an action in terms of grammar. It is the property in X of being the locus of the property of being a qualifier, described by (*nirūpita*) the property of being a qualificand, the latter residing in M, the meaning of a verbal base V, on condition that an affix denoting an agent is used with V and that X arises from M. Here Kapila Deva parenthetically paraphrases *nirūpita* by *jñāpita*. Later, the same section (p. 129) explains that the relation between an action and its result is that of being conductive to it (*anukūlatvam*). And this relation is explained as: the property of being a producer, described by (*nirūpita*) the property of being produced, residing in

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14 *Pada-mañjarī* on *Kāśikā* 1.1.1 (ed. Dwārikā Dās Shastri and Kālikā Prasād Shukla, Varanasi, 1965-1967), I.64.

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a result. Here Kapila Deva parenthetically paraphrases *nirūpita* with *dyotita*. Since what is in question in all instances is a relation said to have a substrate or locus (*āśraya*) and to be described by (*nirūpita*) something else, a consistent rendering is in order. Moreover, given that the text makes use of *Navya-nyāya* relational concepts and terms, Kapila Deva might profitably have referred to B. K. Matilal's exposition of these in his *The Nayya-nyāya doctrine of negation* (Harvard Oriental Series 46, 1968, pp. 31-44).

In its discussion of *lakṣaṇā*, the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* (p. 71) gives the view held by *Mīmāṃsakas*, which it attributes merely to some (*kecit*). Kapila Deva (p. 72) notes that this is a *Mīmāṃsaka* view and then (p. 73) gives one reference, to the *āgama-pariccheda* of the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*. However, since this is, after all, a view held by *Mīmāṃsakas*, it would be good to refer to one; see, for example, *Bhāṭṭa-cintāmaṇi* (Chowkhamba, 1934), pp. 61, 63. Similarly, in his notes to the *dhātv-artha-nirṇaya* where the *Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka* view about what a verbal base denotes (p. 133) is treated, Kapila Deva (p. 134) notes that this is the position of Maṇḍana and other *Mīmāṃsakas*, but then he refers only to the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa, not to Maṇḍana's own *Bhāvanā-viveka*.[15]

In the *dhātv-artha nirṇaya* section (p. 127), the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* explains that active and passive sentences (e.g., *odanaṃ pacati* '....is cooking rice,' *odanaḥ pacyate* ' rice is being cooked....') differ in that : an action is the qualificand when an active sentence is used, but the result of an action is the qualificand when a passive sentence is used. Kapila Deva (p. 128-129) explains what is at question. But he does not point out that the view held here differs from Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's position that in both instances it is an action which is the qualificand.[16] Again, in connection with a view, attributed to some (*kecit*), concerning what constitutes an action's being *sādhya* (perficienda), set forth and rejected in the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* (pp. 144-146), Kapila Deva (p. 144) says that the text here possibly mentions Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's view. But certainly this is Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's position being discussed. It is also treated in the *Laghu-mañjūṣā* (pp. 549-550), and the *Kalā-ṭīkā* (p. 551) expressly identifies Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa as the one who maintains it.

Kapila Deva has made a really serious effort to trace the many citations and quasi-citations found in the *Parama laghu-mañjūṣā*. This was not done by previous editors, and Kapila Deva is certainly to be commended for his industry. There are, nevertheless, some passages which can be traced and which he has not. Thus, *aktāḥ śarkarā upadadhāti* and *tejo vai ghṛtam*, cited on p. 57 of the text,

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15 For a brief exposition of Maṇḍana's position, with references, see " Paraphrase and sentence analysis: some Indian views " (*Journal of Indian Philosophy* 3: 259-281 [1975]), pp. 261-262.

16 *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra* (Mārulkar's edition), pp. 45-46.

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are listed by Kapila Deva (pp. 439, 443) as of unknown provenance. These are cited in the very same form in Śabara's *Bhāṣya* on *Jaimini-sūtra* 1.4.13.24 (Ānandāśrama edition, p. 365) and the *Vṛtti* on *Vākyapadīya* 1.128 (ed. K. A. Subramania Iyer, p. 208) as well as elsewhere; and the citations are only a slight modification of *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* 3.12.5.11, which lacks *vai*. The passage *nakṣatraṃ dṛṣṭvā vācaṃ visṛjet*, cited on page 68, is also listed by Kapila Deva (p. 443) as from an unknown source. It appears in this precise form in the *Vṛtti* on *Vākyapadīya* 1.128 (p. 207), and *Maitrāyaṇi-saṃhitā* 3.6.9 (ed. von Schroeder, vol. 3, p. 72. 4-5) differs only in having the indicative *vṛsṛjate*. The verse cited on page 106 of the text (*abhyāsârthe drutā..*) is from the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* (13.49, ed. Mangal Deva Shastri), and is cited in the *Uddyota* on the *Mahābāṣhya* to 1.1.70 (Rohatak edition, I.538). Kapila Deva (p. 106, note 2) says only that it is cited in the *Uddyota* on the *Mahābhāṣya* to 1.1.68 and in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. The statement *kriyā-pradhānam ākhyātam* is attributed to Yāska (pp. 135, 245), though, as Kapila Deva points out (p. 135, note 1), the actual *Nirukta* statement is *bhāva-pradhānam ākhyātam*. In neither of his notes on this (p. 135, note 1 and p. 245, note 6), however, does he point out that the *Mahābhāṣya* to *vārttika* 2 on 5.3.66 (ed. Kielhorn [3rd ed., revised by K. V. Abhyankar], II. 18.15-16) also has the version here cited. In the *nāmârtha* section (p. 378), the *nyāya nâgṛhīta-viśeṣaṇā buddhri viśeṣye upajāyate* is given, and Kapil Deva (p. 444) simply lists it, wihout any reference. It might have been noted that Śabara's *Bhāṣya* on *Jaimini-sūtra* 1.3.9.33 (Ānandāśrama edition, p. 304) has this in only slightly different form (*na hy apratīte viśeṣaṇe viśiṣṭaṃ kecana pratyetum arhanti*).

Though limitations of space have permitted me to discuss only select parts of Kapila Deva's work, I hope to have stressed fairly its weaknesses and strengths. This book leaves room for further detailed research on the precise theories with which the author of the *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā* agrees and disagrees as well as the sources for these theories. There remains also work to be done in dealing with the questing of authorship. Yet Kapila Deva's is, in my opinion, the best and most diligently elaborated edition with commentary of this text yet to have been produced. He also promises a critical edition of the *Laghu-mañjūṣā*. This is a desideratum. I look forward to its completion

GEORGE CARDONA

Ārṣeyakalpa of Maśaka with the commentary of Varadarāja edited by B. R. SHARMA, V. 1, Series No. 68, published by Vishweshwaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1976, pp. 62 + 604, Price Rs. 100/-.

Sāmaveda and its ancillary literature occupy a specific position in the Vedic literature, and also play an important role in the Vedic ritualistic religion. The *Soma*-sacrifice is the foremost among the Vedic sacrificial rituals, and the

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variety of *Soma*-sacrifices mainly depends for its character on the *Sāmaveda*. Āśvalāyana points out the significant part played by *Sāmaveda* in the *Soma*-sacrifices when he says in his *Śrautasūtra* (8. 13.34) that the *stoma*, the *stotrīya*, the *pṛṣṭha* and the *saṁsthā* in a *Soma*-sacrifice depend upon the *Sāmaveda*.

In view of this significance of *Sāmaveda*, Dr. B. R. Sharma deserves hearty congratulations from the students of Veda and Vedic religion for his sustained and worthy efforts in bringing out critical editions of a number of Sāmavedic texts with or without commentaries. The book under review is his fifteenth publication. The *Ārṣeyakalpa* of Maśaka, otherwise known as *Maśakakalpasūtra*, is perhaps the oldest-*Śrautasūtra* of the *Kauthuma* recension of *Sāmaveda*. It closely follows the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* and records the details of the *stotras* to be chanted at numerous *Soma*-sacrifices.

W. Caland published for the first time (Leipzig, 1908, Reprint 1966) in Roman script his edition of the *Ārṣeyakalpa*. With great pains he recorded the numerous references to the *Uttarārcika*, *Ūhagāna* and *Ūhya* or *Rahasyagāna* which are very essential for a full understanding of the *Sūtra*-text. He has, moreover, used black type for such references in the *Ūha* and *Ūhya Gānas* as occur for the first time. He provided the reader with a further facility by giving in foot-notes the delaits of the cross-references often given by the *Sūtrakāra* with the help of the commentary by Varadarāja. In his valuable introduction he discussed the relationship of the *Ārṣeyakalpa* with the *Saṁhitā*, *Gānas*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Śrautasūtra* and other texts.

Sharma has served a useful purpose by publishing the text of the *Ārṣeyakalpa* in *Devanāgarī*. The utility of the edition is further increased by the presentation of Varadarāja's commentary called *vivṛti* which renders considerable help in understanding the text. A peculiarity of the commentary is that it gives at the beginning a detailed *Prayoga* of the *Agniṣṭoma* and *Vyūḍha Dvādaśāha*—the norm of a *Sattra*. The edition is based on fourteen MSS. probably containing both the text and the commentary. The variants in the text of the commentary are recorded in foot-notes. The editor has taken care to provide numerous references both in the *Sūtra*-text and the commentary. Suitable sub-headings have been given for an easy understanding of the subject-matter. In the Introduction the editor has given a brief survey of the contents of the *Sūtra*-text. A word-index is added. The *Kṣudrakalpa* which is regarded as the latter part of Maśaka's *Kalpasūtra* has separately been published by Sharma (Hoshiarpur, 1974) in *Devanāgarī* with the commentary of Śrīnivāsa. Different types have been used for the text and commentary. More attention towards the arrangement of typography would have been advisable.

For fixing the *sūtra*-text the editor has used Caland's edition as also the MSS. There is, however, no means to know how far the MSS. have been helpful

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in defining the *sūtra*-text. On p. 94. l. 3 the *sūtra*-text reads *ca ekarcāḥ*. Here Caland and five of Sharma's MSS. rightly read *ta ekarcāḥ*. (The foot-note wrongly mentions l. 4 in place of l. 3.) At five more places (Sharma's edition pp. 398-400, 517, 527) both Caland and Sharma have *ta ekarcāḥ*. On the same page (l. 17) Sharma reads *gāyatraṁ ca maukṣam* where Caland has the correct *gāyatram maukṣam*. On pp. 97 and 99 the words *ity ājyāni* are printed as part of the commentary, while according to Caland they form part of the *sūtra*-text. In place of *daivodāsaṁ vā* in Caland's edition Sharma reads *daivodāsaṁ ca* (p. 100, l. 16). Caland's text is the correct one in view of the *stoma* of *Ārbhava Pavamāna* involved in the text.

At certain places (e.g. Caland's edition, p. 77 f.n.1 ; p. 131 f.n. 4) Caland has found difficulty in understanding the text, Sharma is silent at such points. Caland has taken care in dividing the prefix from the verbal form where they are in juxta-position. The present edition has mostly ignored such distinction (e.g. p. 100 l. 13). While printing the *Pavamāna Stotra*s Caland has mentioned the serial numbers of the *stoma*. This convenience is absent in the present edition. An errata has been provided, but one comes across more errors of printing, e.g. R. 2 2.10 in place of 1.2.10 (p. 94 l. 2), *śrāvantīyasyarkṣu* in place of *śrāya°* (p. 318 l. 16). Sometimes where one and the same reference is given in both the *sūtra* and its commentary, one occurrence is wrong, e g. the reference (*Ūha* 14.2.7) to the *Sāman saṁtani* is given in the *sūtra* is correct (p. 318, l. 11) while that in the commentary (*Ūha* 14.2.10) is incorrect (p. 319, l. 20). Again the reference to the *Sāman gāyatrapārśva* in the *sūtra* (*Ūha* 6.2.8.) is correct (p. 318 l. 13), while that in the commentary (*Ūha* 4.2.8) is incorrect (p. 319 l. 21). The reference to the basic verses of *Śrāyantīya Sāman* (*Sāma* 1319-20) given in the commentary (p. 320, l. 3) is correct, while that given in the *sūtra*-text *Sāma* 1319-70, p. 318, l. 16) is incorrect.

Students of Vedic literature and religion are grateful to Dr. B. R. Sharma for having brought out an important Vedic text with commentary in an admirable manner.

C. G. KASHIKAR

Śrāvakabhūmi (Tibetan Sanskrit Works' Series, Volume XIV) Deciphered and Edited by DR. KARUNESHA SHUKLA, Reader in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, University of Gorakhpur, General Editor: Professor Anantalal Thakur, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Instt., Patna; Published under the Patronage of the Government of the State of Bihar, Gorakhpur, 1973, pp 1-511, Price Rs. 45/-.

The present work, *Śrāvaka Bhūmi* as edited by Dr. K. Shukla is welcome to the world of the learned students of Buddhist Philosophy. We owe a lot of thanks to the General Editor, Professor Ananatlal Thakur and the Government

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of Bihar for publishing this important volume in the series of Tibetan Sanskrit Works' Series, Vol. XIV in 1973. The volume has got a good and presentable looks.

The text under discussion had been first edited in 1961 by Professor Alex Wayman of the University of California from linguistic standpoint. Vidhushekhara Shastri also made a reference to this text of *Śrāvaka bhūmi* while editing the first five chapters of the great text of *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* of Asaṅga. *Bodhi Sattvabhūmi* also has been previously edited. The editor claims that this manuscript of *Śrāvkabhūmi* is the only text so far obtained. He mentions also that extant translations of the text are obtained in Chinese-Tibetan and Japanese, but he could not utilize them because of linguistic difficulties. It is peculiar to note that the text of *Śrāvaka būhmi* has not been included in the entire manuscript of *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*; even in translation, XIIIth and the XVth *Bhūmis* do not occur. There are four *Saṅgrahaṇīs* in the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*. These are *Bhūmivastu* or *Bahubhūmika*, *Viniścaya Saṅgrahaṇī*, *Vastu Saṅgrahaṇī* and *Paryāya Saṅgrahaṇī*. It is the *Bhūmivastu* which (in Chinese translation) contains the 17 *bhūmis* of *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*. Of these we are told that Buddhamitra translated the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and Prajna Varman translated the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The rest of the 3 *Saṅgrahaṇīs* contain the commentaries on *Bahubhūmika* or *Bhūmivastu*. *Śrāvakabhūmi*, according to Vidhushekhara Śāstrī, had been translated by Jinamitra into Tibetan. The text contains 4 *Yogasthānas*. The *Gotrabhūmis*, *Avatārabhūmi*, *Naiṣkarmyabhūmi* are included in the first *Yogasthānam*. The text is an important one which actually describes fully the ethics or *caryā* of a *Śrāvaka* or a renunciated disciple.

We are told that Asaṅga previously was affiliated to the school of Mahīśāsakas of '*Sarvāstivāda*' School. This question is disputable. For, although *Sarvāstivāda* and Mahīśāsaka Schools belong to non-*Mahāsaṃghika Sthairavāda* affiliation, it cannot be said that these two are one and the same. It is not found in *Bhikṣu Varṣagra Paripṛcchā* or in Mahāpaṇḍit Rahula Samkrityayana's classification; nor it is mentioned in Dr. N. Dutta's *Early Monashi Buddhism* or in his *Buddhist Sects of India*. We hope that the author will clarify it for our benefit when the second edition will be prepared (P. XXIII). On the contrary we know only that the *Vinaya* text of the *Sarvāstivāda* is found in Gilgit Mss. (edited by Dr. N. Dutt).

We know from the introduction (P. 1) that *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* or *Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra* (it is written there as *Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra*) contains 17 *bhūmis* or sections following which one can attain *Bodhisattva*hood. It appears that inspite of the defective manuscripts, the author painstakingly tried to present them systematically. Our attention was drawn to the two expressions *Piṇḍoḍḍana* and *Uddana* meaning of which there, is not clear (P. x/vii) in the text.

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The editor already mentioned that the author is Asaṅga who was born of *Kauśika Gotra* in Taxila. The author is of opinion that Asaṅga was well posted in Brahmanic literature and he compares some of the ideas found in the text with the ideas of *Madhuvidyā* of *Taitirīya Upaniṣad* and also of others found in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Some common points referred to however do not hold good. It appears, ordinarily, many scholars including Professor Radhakrishnan and Dr. S. Mukherji are of opinion that Buddhism mainly is an offshoot of Brahmanism. But this is not true. The ideas which are quoted to support this idea were to be dealt with a spirit of comparison ; it would appear to be less contradictory, if, instead of saying that these expressions have been borrowed from one into the other. One would hold that all these ideas are borrowed from a common source only ; and thus, (P./v) e.g., the ideas of Śrutamayī, Cintāmayī and Bhāvanāmayī Prajña are found equally in *Yogasūtra* and Buddhist literature ; but we cannot say that one borrowed it from the other.

We come to know from this book that Ācārya Asaṅga himself was first a Sthavira of conservative school and later had adopted *Mahāyāna*. Thus, *Hīnayāna* or the earlier school first and the *Mahāyāna* or radical point of view of later practices were quite normal at that time. It was obvious from the memoir Fashien who had seen *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna vihāras* equally existing side by side all along his ways. The author has very carefully avoided the issue whether there was much isolation in their midst (P/vii). This point needs a careful consideration ; ordinarily *Hīnayāna* or the earlier school and *Mahāyāna* or the later school of Buddhism were believed to be in complete isolation from one another. However, Dr. P. C. Bagchi believed that *Mahāyāna* views were mainly drawn from the doctrine (*Lokottaravāda*) of the *Mahāsaṃghika* branch ; whereas professor Dr. M. Dutt, the renowned disciple of Louis De La Valleé Poussin thought that the two views existed side by side from the beginning ; and the idea of Buddha's being an exponent of *Maitrī*, *Muditā*, *Karuṇā* and *Upekṣā* is not incompatible with his being mainly affiliated to *Mahāyāna* school. The author does not mention Asaṅga's date either. He mentions that Asaṅga had mastered the Brahmanical texts (Li) also. This fact may be naturally understood from the fact that about the beginning of the 1 A.D. The Buddhist Scholars had taken to writing in Sanskrit already, as, many of them had come from Hindu faith ; Asaṅga, like any other scholar of the time had been brought up at first quite likely in a Brahmanic tradition. The author categorically is of opinion that the entire terminology used by the Buddhists has been " borrowed from the Vedic and Brahmanic sources in some way or other, though at some places their original sense might have changed.". The sentence, first appears self contradictory ; secondly, the Buddhist terminology in reality appears to be quite different in connotation from those to be found in Brahmanic texts. The nature of Sanskrit which has been used in Buddhistic texts including the one under

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discussion is also hybrid in nature. The connotation and associations (*saṃskāra*) in meaning are of entirely different nature. So we see the new coinage of the terms like *caitta* or *caitasika Saṃskāra* which mean derived from *citta* or originated in *Citta*. *Citta* also means (See *Kośa-Bhāṣyam*) that aspect of the mind which is connected with morality (*cinotīti cittam, Manute ca Manaḥ vijānātīti vijñānam*); thus if at all, we could hold only that many of the scholars of Brahmanic tradition, out of curiosity for satisfying their new and critical attitude used to come to adopt Buddhism and Asaṅga or Vasubandhu's family could be some of them.

We are told by the editor that Asaṅga the author had first been of *Hīnayāna* affiliation and later had become converted to *Mahāyāna* under the influence of Maitreya Natha a great exponent of *Mahāyāna*. It would have been better explained about if there he could give some textual references for that. The same truth holds good about Vasubandhu, the second younger brother of Asaṅga. He at first happened to be a *Sautrāntika* monk who later on adopted *Mahāyāna* after he accepted guidance from his elder brother Asaṅga. This Vasubandhu had been the author of *Abhidharma Kośa Kārikā* and its *Bhāṣyam*, a great text written from the view point of the *Vaibhāṣikas* of Kashmere (vide *Kośa* 8, ka 40), Vasubandhu's biography had been written by Kumārajīva and Paramārtha (vide Toung Pou and *Journal of Asiatic Society*).

The date of Vasubandhu, however, also remains controversial. The renowned Scholar Frauwallner who was associated with the Rome Oriental Instt. is of opinion that there were two Vasubandhus; the first was the brother of Asaṅga, the second was the contemporary of Vasurāta the Grammarian and teacher of Manoratha. The present editor follows the version of Frauwallner. The present reviewer however, humbly states that the theory of two Asaṅgas or two Vasubandhus may be very carefully examined. The actual time gap between the two proposed by late Professor Frauwallner is not more than 80 years. And, usually, in Indian history date fixing is a very odd job. The gap of 80 years is not and cannot be established on the data which are clearly expressed and so far obtained. From the obtainable data it appears rather, that, the same Vasubandhu happens to be the Buddhist Scholar and brother of Asaṅga, first a *Hīnayāni* and then later a *Mahāyāni*. The present reviewer discussed this fact also in the (2nd revised edn.) critical edition of *Abhidharma Kośa Bhāṣyam* published from the same K. P. Jayswal Instt. in 1975 and in her Monograph, some psychological aspects of Early Buddhism as based on *Abhidharma kośa* of Vasubandhu published by Asiatic Society Calcutta (in press). Even the identity of the proposed two Vasubandhus does not stand when we compare the language of the *A. K. B. Bhāṣyam* and that of *Madhyānta Vibhaṅga Sūtra Bhāṣyam*, the first a *Hīnayāna* text and the second a *Mahāyāna* one. Professor late Ananta Kumara Bhattacarya *Tarkatīrtha Śāstrī*, *Vedānta Śiromaṇi* and Prof. Dr. N.

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Dutt M.A., D.Litt. are of opinion that Vasubandhu was only one. The present reviewer also thinks the same thing. Dr. K. Shukla has got to prove however, that there are reasons which conclusively establish that Asaṅgas and Vasubandhus are not one but two. Besides, also there are some other irregularities about dates in the book. In many places the Sanskrit words coined or constructed do not convey the intended meaning and therefore a careful scrutiny will be required in order to establish the correct word. A comparison also may be suggested with Pālī texts which are indispensable for a work like this.

In conclusion, we feel that there are many big difficulties in the field of our Indological studies and one of them is the linguistic difficulty. Besides Sanskrit, the field of Buddhistic studies specially would require a working knowledge of Pālī, Tibetan and French and classical Chinese and German if possible. Apart from acqaintance with the languages, scholars ought to have some idea about using the appropriate terms and their philosophical, psychological significances while reconstructing philosophical texts including the one we are discussing. It is often seen that a Sanskrit Scholar remains indifferent to the Buddhistic connotation of a term which he is using and is simply interpreting the same from his frame work acquaintance with only the orthodox Hindu point of view. This is not what it should be. Again, ordinarily the scholars of modern Philosophy and Psychology cannot do much progress in these psycho-ethical aspects of Buddhist philosophy unless they get themselves equipped against their linguistic difficulty mainly; and also they should overcome the temptation of using freely the terms of modern sciences. For these practical and basic difficulties, a study like this, however valuable it might be, is sure to be an incomplete and half scientific one. We hope many more new researches will be there in future so as to bring forth valuable contribution, based on this work and our research workers will be further guided by a more serious and scientific effort than this; for that of course one should remember that a Sanskrit scholar who will have to deal with a learned work-like this will have to have some fairly good acquaintance with the terms used in modern Biology physiology and specially modern psychology; without that grounding, understanding and proper assimilation of the Buddhist terms used in *Abhidharma* cannot be complete and there may be a chance even to misinterprete and distort the terms. In most of the cases they are found to be coinciding and one may be tempted to come to a quick conclusion; but, there are special connotations or meanings of the text which should be accordingly interpreted. The number of the *caitasikas*, e.g. in Sanskrit Buddhistic texts remains 46; whereas, in Pālī the number is 54. The author however does not go into these details which essentially had to be mentioned in the introduction at least. The introduction is itself very long without giving any new light to the subject matter discussed in this valuable text. We draw author's attention to these facts. Let us hope, these matters will be more fully and carefully discussed in the next revised edition or in the proposed second part.

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We are indebted to the publishers (K. P. Jayswal Instt. Patna Edn. Dept., Bihar Govt , Bihar) for bringing out this valuable text; but we draw their attention to a serious fact of wastage of papers and money which could be economized. Each page barely contains 20 lines which could be printed in a more compact manner. Apart from the fact of wastage of paper, textual arrangement as such drives the attention only to get derailed. The cost of the book, being heavily subsidized by the Education Department of Bihar Government is comparatively cheap; but that could be made even cheaper if the book were printed in a more compact manner taking much less space and more properly arranged or supervised.

ARUNA HALDAR

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OBITUARIES

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee
(1890—1977)

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, the doyen of linguisticians in the India of to-day passed away at Calcutta at an advanced age of 87. He was born on 26th of November (the *Rāsa Pūrṇimā* day in West Bengal and sacred to the Sikhs as the birth day of Guru Nanak) 1890 at Sibpur in Howrah near Calcutta in a *Vītarāga*, Sāmavedin (*Kauthumi* Branch) Brahman family of the *Kaśyapa clan*.

Suniti Kumar had his early education at Motilal Sil's Free School wherefrom he passed the Entrance Examination standing 6th in order of merit and obtaining a scholarship of Rs. 20/-. He then entered the Scottish Churches College and graduated therefrom in 1911 with First Class Honours and standing first in English. In 1913 he obtained the M.A. degree in English, also standing first in class I and taking Old and Middle English and Germanic and English Philology as special subjects. In 1918 he also qualified himself in Second Examination in Vedic Sanskrit conducted by the Bengal Government Sanskrit Association. He was a recipient in 1919 of Premchand Roychand Research Studentship and Jubilee Research Prize of the Calcutta University.

He joined the Vidyasagar College, Calcutta in 1913 as a Professor of English and then entered the Calcutta University to take Post-Graduate Classes (1914-1919). He was selected for a Government of India Scholarship for linguistic studies in Europe, studied in the University of London (1919-21), got Diploma in Phonetics (1920) and obtained the highly-prized the D.Litt Degree of the London University (1921), the subjet of his thesis being Indo-Aryan Philology, while in London, he studied besides phonetics and Indo-European linguistics, Prakrit, Old English, Persian, Gothic, Old Indo-Aryan and the like under renowned Professors like Daniel Jones, F. W. Thomas, L. D. Barnett, Robin Fowler etc. In France also he studied at the Sorbonne, the College de France and the Ecole des Langues Vivantes Orientales under far-famed scholars like Prof. Jules Bloch, Antoine Meillet, Jean Przyluski, Paul Pelliot etc. (1921-22).

In November, 1922 he returned to India and was immediately asked by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee to join the Calcutta University as Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics. He was also requested to take linguistic classes in various Post-Graduate Departments as lecturer. Here he utilized his time by studying *Avestā* under Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

The year 1926 is a landmark in his career, as in that year his 'Magnum Opus'—'*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*' (more famous

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in its abbreviated title ODBL) in 2 Vols. pp. xci + 1179, was published by the University of Calcutta. Recently (1970) George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London has brought out a second edition of the same in 3 Vols. With the publication of this work, his fame as a linguist spread far and wide and he became an acknowledged authority in Bengali linguistics.

The number of congresses and conferences Dr. Chatterjee has attended is innumerable. The meetings over which he has presided and the learned bodies with which he was associated is too numerous. No detailed account of his activities, national and international will be attempted, only a rough outline will be provided here.

As a representative of the Calcutta university, he attended in 1935 the Second International Conference of Phonetic Sciences, London and presided over the Indian section of the conference. Three years later in 1938, he again represented his university at the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences at Ghent (Belgium), at the International Congress of Anthropologists at Copenhagan and at the International Congress of Orientalists at Brussels. In his fourth visit to Europe he represented the University of Calcutta and the Government of India at the International Congress of Linguists and the International Congress of Orientalists (Paris, July 1948) and the International Congress of Anthropologists (Brussels, August, 1948). He participated in an International Committee on the Braille Alphabet called by the U N E S C O in Paris. He took part in another U N E S C O Conference on the Braille Alphabet in March 1950, attended the third U N E S C O Conference in February, 1951 on the Arabic and Persian Braille at Beirut (Lebanon) and represented the fourth such conference at Paris the same year. In August 1954 as a delegate of the Government of India (Ministry of Education) he attended the International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge. In the same year he also as representative of the Government of India visited Medan in North Sumatra to participate in congress on Indonesian Language called by the Indonesian Government. At the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences he attended in 1958 the 4th International Conference of Slavists at Moscow. He led in 1960 the Government of India delegation to the 25th International Conference of Orientalists at Moscow. He presided at a plenary session of the 4th International Congress of Linguists organised by Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the permanent International Committee of Linguists in 1962. To attend the 150th birth anniversary of Tara Shevehenko and of the Conference of Asian and African Writers he visited in 1963 Moscow.

For one semester Dr. Chatterjee from September 1951 to February 1952 was visiting lecturer at the School of South Asia Studies, Pennsylvannia University. During his stay in U S A he delivered lectures at Columbia and Yale

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Universities and Washington Linguistic Circle. As a member of the Indian universities delegation he went to China in 1955. At the Cairo University he spoke on the Indo-Arab cultural ties and of the integration of the human races through cultural medium. His talk at the Haile Selassi University (at Addis Ababa) was India's cultural affinities with Ethiopia since the 8th century B.C. His monograph on Balts and Aryans drew appreciative praise in Latvia and Lithuania. His treatise on the hero-legends of Armenia was widely read in that country. In Paris he attended two centenary meetings—one the celebration of the foundation of the French Society of Linguists and the other the 100th birth anniversary of Prof. Antoine Meillat, the renowned linguist.

He was elected fellow or member in different learned societies of the world :

Elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (1936) ; Honorary Member of the Oriental Institute of Poland, Warsaw (1946) ; Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society New Havan, Connecticut (1947) ; Honorary Member of the Ecole Francaise de l' Extreme—Orient, Hanoi, Viet-nam (1949) ; Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council-Upper House (1952) ; Elected Member of the Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences, Holland (1955) ; Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, Calcutta University (1955) ; Honorary Member, Norwegian Academy of Sciences in its Philosophical Historical Section ; Linguistic Society of America, New York ; Italian Institute for the Near and Far East ; Member, Permanent International Council of Phonetic Sciences, Helsinki ; Honorary Member, Linguistic Society of the University of Ceylon ; Elected Correspondent for Indian Languages, Institute of Cultural Co-operation, League of Nations, Geneva ; Member, Permanent Council for International Conference on Phonetic Sciences, London and Ghent; Member, International Editorial Board for the 'Acta Linguistica' Copenhagen; Member, Permanent International Council of Linguists, Paris and Nijmegen, Holland; Honorary Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Honorary Member, Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner, Rajastan; Honorary Member, Nagari Pracarini Sabha, Varanasi etc. etc.

He won special titles, awards and medals—*Sāhitya Vācaspati* by the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Allahabad (1948); Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology by the University of Calcutta for 38 years' long and distinguished service (1952); *Padma-Bhūṣaṇa* Order by the President of India (1955); Hony. D. Litt by the Rome University (1960); *Padma-Vibhūṣaṇa* by the President of India (1963); National Professor of India for Research in Humanities (1964); President of the Sāhitya Academy (1969), Ratnākar Prize Medal by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Varanasi etc.

He was associated with almost every university in India in various capacities—Examiner, Member of the Boards of Studies, Selection Committees,

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Invited Lecturers etc. He became President and Vice-President in several learned institutions. President—All Burma Bengali Literary Conference, Rangoon (1936-37); All Bengal Bengali Literary Conference, Comilla, East Bengal (Now Bangladesh)—1939; National Language Sections of the All India Hindi Literary Conference, Karachi (now in Pakistan), 1946 etc. Vice-President—Vangiya Shitya Parishad, Calcutta; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta etc.

He was closely in touch with *Gurudeva* Rabindranath Tagore and connected with Visva-Bhāratī University as a member of its Governing Body for a number of years. He accompanied the poet in his visit to Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Siam (now Thailand) in 1927. He published the result of his tour in a book "*Dvīpamaya Bhārata*" or "*Indonesia*" and received warm praise from Tagore. The poet loved him very much, had a high opinion about him, dedicated his book—*Bāṅglā Bhāṣā Paricaya*—to him, endearingly gave him the title '*Bhāṣācārya*' or 'Master of Speech' and even referred to him in his work '*Śeṣer Kavitā*.'

Towards the later part of his life he became immensely interested in the origin of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the views he is reported to have propounded became the centre of a controversy which is now silenced in his death. He tried to trace the early part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to *Daśaratha Jātaka* of the Pālī Canon where Rāma and Sītā were described as brother and sister.

Dr. Chatterjee travelled far and wide. He has visited almost every part of the globe. In 1938 he after attending some international conferences visited, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Germany, Belgium and Italy. After his fourth visit to Europe in 1948 he had been to Cairo (Egypt) for a week. On behalf of the University of Calcutta he was out on an educational tour in 1950 to Italy, England, Holland and Turkey (Istambul). On a Rockfeller Foundation Subvention he visited for a month Mexico and surrounding places at Pueble, Oaxaca, Tehuantapec, Merida, Uxmal and Chichen Itza. On a grant from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (New Delhi), he toured Gold Coast (now Ghana), Nigeria and Liberia. On his way back from China he visited Hong-Kong, Canton, Peking, Shenyan (Makden), Anshan, Fushan, Nankin, Shanghai & Hangshow etc.

Dr. Chatterjee was mainly a linguist but his versatile genius transcended the domain of linguistics and spread to art, literature, history, religion, mythology etc. He was the author of a large number of books, papers and monographs in English, Bengali and Hindi. He was also a well-known Bengali Prose Writer. No attempt will be made to give an exhaustive list of his publications. Only some of his books and monographs will be mentioned here :

In English

Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, 2 Vols., 1300 Pages (Calcutta University, 1926), (2nd Ed., London).

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Bengali Self-Taught (Marlborough' Self-Taught Series, London, 1927).

A Bengali Phonetic Reader (University of London, 1928).

Edition of the *Varṇa-Ratnākara*, the oldest Maithili Text Extant (with Paṇḍit Babua Misra) with critical and linguistic introduction (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940).

Indo-Aryan and Hindi (Ahmedabad, 1942), (2nd Ed. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960)—Translated into Gujarati and Hindi.

Languages and the Linguistic Problem (Oxford University Press).

The National Flag and Other Essays (Calcutta, 1944).

Kirāta-jana-kṛti or the Indo-Mongoloids, their contribution to the History and Culture of India (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1951)—(2nd Ed., Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1977).

Linguistic Introduction to Uktivyakti Prakaraṇa, a text in Sanskrit and Old Awadhi as edited by Jinavijayaji (Bombay, 1953).

The Indian Synthesis and Racial and Cultural Intermixture : being the Presidential Address delivered before the 17th All India Oriental Conference (Ahmedabad, 1953).

Assam and India (Gauhati University, 1954).

Africanism (Calcutta, 1960).

Language and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta, 1963).

People, Language and Culture of Orissa (1966).

Balts aud Aryans (Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1968).

India and Ethiopia (1969).

World Literature and Tagore (1971).

Iranianism (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1972).

Jayadeva (1973).

India : A Polyglot Nation (1974).

A Shortened Arya-Hindu Vedic Weeding Initiation Rituals (1976).

In Bengali

An edition of *the Portuguese work on Bengali Grammar* by Manoel de Assumpsam (1743) with Bengali Translation, in collaboration with Prof. P. R. Sen.

Caṇḍidāsa Padāvali—A critical edition of the Padas of Caṇḍidāsa—in collaboration with Paṇḍit Hare Krishna Mukherjee), Vol. I. (Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1933).

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Paścimar Yātrī "The Pilgrim to the West : Travels in Europe, 1935", (2nd Ed. Calcutta, 1947).

Dvīpamaya Bhārata (Travels in Indonesia with Rabindranath Tagore, 1927), Calcutta, 1940.

Bangala Bhāṣātattver Bhūmikā (Introduction to Bengali Linguistics, 6th Ed. 1950).

Bhāṣā-Prakāśa Bāngalā Vyākaraṇa (A Comprehensive Bengali Grammar —3rd. Ed. Calcutta, 1945).

Jāti Samskriti O Sāhitya (Race, Culture and Literature): A series of Essays—Calcutta, 1947.

Bhārata Samskriti (the Culture of India): Essays—Calcutta, 1944.

Vaideśiki (Eight Studies in Romance, History and Culture of Foreign Lands)—Calcutta, 1947.

Bhārater Bhāsā Bhāsā Samāsyā (The Languages and Linguistic Problems of India (Viswa-Bharati, 1946).

Europe, 1938 (Travels in Europe 1938—Pts. 1 & 2, Calcutta, 1944.

In Hindi

Rājasthānī Bhāṣa (3 Lectures on Rājasthānī Language)—Rajasthan Viśwa-Vidyāpīth (Udayapur, 1949)—Awarded Ratnākar Prize by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Varanasi as the best book in Hindi of the year on a linguistic subject.

Ritambharā (A series of Essays: Literary, Historical and Cultural)—Allahabad, 1951.

Bhārat-Kī-Bhaṣāen aur Bhāṣā-Samasyāen (The Languages and Linguistic Problems in India)—Allahabad, 1951.

Bhāratīya Ārya-Bhāsā aur Hindi (The Indo-Aryan Speech and Hindi)—Delhi, 1954.

MADHUSUDAN MALLIK

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Late Shri Amrit Vasant Pandya

With the sad demise of Shri Amrit Vasant Pandya in 1976, a good field-worker in archaeology, Gujarat has lost an industrious explorer. His activities in archaeology and culture began as an amateur but with the help given to him by Shri K. N. Dixit and then by his own enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge, he was able to contribute significantly in the discoveries of important sites like Mahesvar, Prakash specially in Western India.

Shri Pandya wrote specially in Hindi and Gujarati. His interests covered wide areas in iconography, numismatics, puranic and folk arts, descriptions of cities and in the search for lost Saraswati. He worked in Rajpipla, Junagadh, Vallabh Vidyanagar, as an archaeologist and curator of Museum. He was an active worker in the Maha Gujarat Movement and assisted Shri B. D. Patel, the visionary architect of Vallabh Vidyanagar, in a variety of ways.

Shri Pandya was an active member of All India History Congress, All India Science Congress and such other academic institutions and a member of the advisory Board of Archaeology in Saurashtra & Gujarat. His habit of travelling by Bus, for an understanding of Geographic features, was of immense help to his knowledge.

Shri Amrit Pandya did not complete his formal education but with his zeal and relentless pursuit of knowledge, he kept himself well aware of the currents of learning in praiseworthy manner.

An excellent conversationalist and a man with strong feelings, he kept on working in spite of his failing health and it is not an exaggeration to state that he died in harness while preparing for his further work.

May his soul rest in peace.

R. N. MEHTA

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1. *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (*Series-A, Vol. 3*): by Prof. David Pingree, pubd. by American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, Philadelphia, pp. 6 + 208, Price : Not printed.
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